



PART II
INDIA IN PARLIAMENT
AND ABROAD



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INDIA IN PARLIAMENT AND ABROAD 1917-19.

BEING A RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS ON INDIAN
AFFAIRS IN BOTH HOUSES OF THE
BRITISH PARLIAMENT, AND A
COLLECTION OF SPEECHES
AND WRITINGS ON
INDIA IN ENGLAND,
AMERICA, THE
DOMINIONS,
ETC.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Part I—India in Parliament.

DATE	SUBJECT	HOUSE	PAGE
	Introduction		
12 July '17	Montagu's Speech on the Mesopotamian Report	H. of C.	viii
28 Feb. '12	Montagu's Address at Cambridge		xiii
20 Aug. '17	Declaration of Policy by Sec. of State	H. of C.	1
16 Oct. '17	Mrs. Besants Internment and Release		3
24 Oct. '17	The Internments in India	H. of L.	8
31 Oct. '17	Silver Currency Policy,	H. of C.	17
5 Nov. '17	Appointment of H. Court Judges	"	17
20 Nov. '17	Raid on Home Rule for India League Office	"	18
22 Nov. '17	Comm. Wedgwood on the Raid on H. R. Office	"	19
26 Nov. '17	Com. Wedgwood on Lajpat Rai's "Young India"	"	21
28 Nov. '17	Com. Wedgwood on Defence of Realm Regulation	"	22
	Com. Wedgwood's Speech on the Home Rule Office Raid	"	24
March '18	Mr. McCallum Scott on the German Route to India	"	28
	Three Phases of the Danger to India	"	32
	Roads through which Germans might come	"	34
	Frontier Rising in India	"	35
3 June '18	Sir Subramania's letter to Wilson in the House of Commons	"	36
18. „ '18	Debate in the Lords on Same	H. of L.	36
	Lord Harris on Sir Subramania Iyer	"	37
	Viscount Haldane on	"	38
	Lord Curzon on	"	39
	Lord Crew on	"	42
14 June '17	The Letter to President Wilson Text	"	43
June '18	Sir Subramania's Reply to his Critics	"	46
	Dr. Subramania's Renunciation of Titles	"	52
0 July '18	German Plots in India	H. of C.	53
5 July '18	Questions on the Reform Proposals	"	54
"	Questions on the Reform Proposals	H. of L.	54

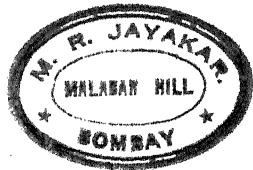
CONTENTS

July '18	Questions regarding Dr. Nair and Mr. Tilak	H. of L.	5
22 „ 18	The Montagu-Chelmsford Report—questions	H. of C.	5
22 „	Army Commissions to Indians ...	„	5
„	Ditto ...	H. of L.	5
6 Aug. '18	The Budget Debate— ...	H. of C.	5
„	Mr. Montagu's speech on Indian Reforms ...	„	5
„	Mr. Montagu's Reply to Criticism ...	„	6
„	Mr. Charles Robert's Speech on Indian Reforms ...	„	6
„	The Budget Debate on Indian Reforms ...	„	6
6 Aug. '18	The Reforms Debate in the House of Lords	H. of L.	7
„	Speech of Lord Sydenham ...	„	7
„	„ Lord Carmichael ...	„	7
„	„ the Marquis of Crewe ...	„	7
„	„ Lords Harris and Lamington ...	„	7
„	„ Lord Islington ...	„	7
„	„ the Earl of Curzon ...	„	8
31 July '18	Indian Currency ...	H. of C.	8
17 Oct. '18	Rowlatt Report ...	„	8
21 Oct. '18	Indian Commissions in Army ...	„	8
23 Oct. '18	Debate on Indian Reforms ...	H. of L.	8
15 Nov. '18	Unrest in India ...	„	9
20 Nov. '18	Industrial Development ...	H. of C.	9
„	The General Election and India ...	„	9
17 Feb. '19	Interpellations on Reforms etc. ...	H. of C.	9
19 „	Do do ...	„	9
24 „	Questions on the Rowlatt Bills ...	„	9
26 „	Lord Sinha takes seat in the Lords ...	H. of L.	10
4 Mar. '19	Lord Sinha's Maiden Speech ...	„	10
„	Lord Sydenham's Question on Indian Riots ...	„	10
„	Lord Islington's Speech congratulating Sinha ...	„	10
„	Lord Sinha's Reply ...	„	10
„	Lord Sinha's Admonition to Sydenham ...	„	10
„	Lord Crewe's Speech ...	„	10
„	Lord Sydenham on Katarpur Riots ...	„	10
„	Lord Sinha's Reply ...	„	10
10 Mar. '19	Com. Wedgwood's Questions about Lajpat Rai ...	H. of C.	10
„	Famine conditions in India ...	„	10
7 Apr. '19	Limitations of the Rowlatt Bills ...	„	11
1 Apr. '19	Parliamentary Committee for India ...	H. of C.	11
3 Apr. '19	Indian Army ...	„	11
2 „	Railway Administration ...	„	11
Apr. '19	Rowlatt Act and Riots ...	„	11
May. '19	Interpellations ...	„	11
22 May. '19	Indian Budget Debate ...	„	11
„	The Internal Situation in India ...	„	11
„	Montague on Indian Unrest ...	„	11
„	Montagu on Rowlatt Act ...	„	11

CONTENTS

Part II.—India Abroad.

DATE	SUBJECT	PAGE
27 July '18	Mr. Montagu's Cambridge Speech on Indian Reforms ...	1
Nov. '18	Mr. Montagu's Election Speech at Cambridge ...	6
25 May '18	The "Nation" on Indian Reforms ...	8
	Mr. B. Houghton on Indian Reforms ...	11
	Lord Sydenham's Views on Indian Reforms ...	14
	Lord Morley Speech on Indian Reforms ...	16
Aug' 18	The Daily Telegraph on Indian Reforms ...	19
"	Lord Islington on Indian Reforms ...	21
	Indian Reforms and the Spectator ...	26
	The Westminster Gazette on Indian Reforms ...	30
	The Aga Khan on Indian Reforms ...	32
	India in the Australian Senate ...	33
	Mr. Reid pleads Home Rule for India ...	33
26 Mar. '18	The Manchester Guardian on the Home Rule movement in India ...	36
	"India in revolution" by Mr. Houghton ...	40
Mar. '18	"The Meeting of the East and the West"—Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore in the Manchester Guardian... ..	44
	Textile Mercury on Indian Trade Policy ...	49
Jan. '18	Baron Okuma on India and Japan ...	53
"	Indians in South Africa ...	55
Nov. '18	Sir J. D. Rees on India ...	59
Sept. '18	Mr. Ramsay McDonald on Indian Congress ...	60
Oct. '18	Sir S. P. Sinha at Press Conference ...	63
24 June '18	India in the War Conference ...	65
	Sir S. P. Sinha's Memorandum ...	66
	Sir S. P. Sinha's Speech on Indian Immigration ...	72
	The Resolution moved ...	71
12 Mar. '19	Savoy Hotel Meeting ...	81
12 Mar. '19	Maharaja Bikanir on Indian Reforms ...	82
"	Lord Sinha's Reply ...	89
"	Mr. Montagu Speech ...	93
11 Apr. '19	India in Peace Conference ...	100
	India in America ...	102



INDIA IN PARLIAMENT.

INTRODUCTION.

The following pages compiled from Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, are intended to present to the Indian public an account of the proceedings in the British Houses of Parliament of matters Indian, and if possible, to show the trend of events which contribute to the shaping of India's political destiny so far as it is directed and led by Parliament. The volume opens with the now famous announcement of 20th Aug.' 17, declaring, in the carefully worded language of politicians, the policy of His Majesty's Government with regard to India. The causes which led to that announcement are now matters of past history which it is not the object here to open. But it may be recalled, in passing, that that declaration was made under a strain which has now passed off. Good intentions are often expressed and resolved upon, alike by Nations as by individuals, under the compelling force of some adventitious unthought of emergency but people do not live in strain for ever ; it passes off, and with it many a good resolve ! That announcement was made when the British Empire was in peril, and not a day too soon or too late. India herself was in a state of ferment and things were so drifting as to throw all thought, all sections, all creeds—Hindus and Moslems, Brahmins and Pariahs, townsmen and village-folk, agitators and merchants—all into an united common stream of thought and action and ideal. Discerning people in high and responsible quarters saw that some remedy was required. Accordingly the War cabinet in England forged a remedy and hurled it over the seven seas to India ! Came the Declaration of August 20th to India and with it the Apple of Discord ! The drift of things into a common channel stopped ; streams rolled back. Lines became distinctly discernible : Extremists, Moderates, Home Rulers, Brahmins, Non-Brahmins, etc a thousand sects and creeds of thought ran helter-skelter all scrambling for the apple. So far the announcement was well aimed and it well served its purpose !

Mr. Montagu—the Man.

The central figure in the current phase of India's Parliamentary history is the Secretary of State, the Rt. Hon. Edwin Samuel Montagu. His connection with Indian affairs dates officially from 1910 when he was chosen by Lord (then Mr.) Morley to be the Under-secretary of State for India. He has had a thorough grinding in the Morleyan code of Liberalism and whether his present actions reflect some of the haltering and unconvincing principles of that code, history has yet to judge. His earlier speeches in Parliament on Indian affairs, particularly the budget speeches of the four years 1910—13, the period of his Under-secretaryship, however, breathe a spirit of liberalism and exhibit a breadth of heart rare even in those halcyon days of liberalism. For one thing he has ever carried with him an air of warm fellowship with his Indian fellow-subjects, and privately and in the platform, outside office, he has championed the cause of India and sympathised with her woes, as few else have championed and sympathised since the days of John Bright. Office, especially the unenviable office of the Indian Secretary of state with its unavoidable bondage of system and tradition, may and do sometimes appear to have cast a shadow on the real man, but the time is not yet to judge if the man or the machine has outgrown the other. History stores ample proof of cases where the machine breaks the man, system clogs his activity and tradition wrecks society. Mr. Montagu has already shown rare tact and ingenuity in the handling of problems where all that is old and rotten of an old world stand in the path of progress. He has travelled far all over India more than once and his utterances reveal that he has travelled and learned from his travels as only one who has a heart instinct with feeling can learn and understand.

He was for the last time in India in 1917—18 as the special representative of His Majesty's Government in order to discuss with the authorities and representatives of the people here the various questions concerning constitutional changes in the "too wooden, too iron" Government of India. A characteristic of the man, one perhaps, flowing from the same rare tact and ingenuity inherent in him which has enabled him more than once to ply through difficult waters, is his knack of keeping himself, his personality and egotism, far away behind the true issues he wants carried. This serves to mark him off from the pattern of junkers of whom India knows unfortunately too well and too many. The power of such a man, be it for God or evil, is far greater than that of a pack of blustering junkers put together, and India requires equal ingenuity and skill to watch the doings and sayings of such a skilful person.

Immediately before he took his seat in the Cabinet as Secretary of State for India, he told his constituencies at Cambridge :—

I take up the work where Mr. Chamberlain left it a few days ago. As a private member of the House of Commons, when I had no sort of notion that I should be asked to fill any vacancy in the India Office, I made a speech on Indian affairs. That speech embodied the opinions I held and still hold. Mr. Chamberlain told the House of Commons that the reform of the Govt. of India was now under discussion between him and his Council and the Viceroy and his Council and advisers in India. I take up that discussion, I hope, without interruption where he left it, and in due course the Govt. will announce their policy.

The speech referred to is his well known speech in the House of Commons, 12 July, 1917, on the Debate on the Mesopotamia Commission's Report, in which occur that famous denunciation of the Govt. of India which is so often quoted :—

"The Govt. of India is too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antediluvian, to be of any use for modern purposes. I do not believe that any body could ever support the Govt. of India from the point of view of modern requirements.

"I tell this House that the statutory organisation of the India office produces an apotheosis of circumlocution and *red tape* beyond the dreams of any ordinary citizen."

Below is given an extensive extract from that speech from which it may be gathered with what mind he came to the India office. The Mesopotamian affair of 1917, it may be necessary to point out, was a hopeless muddle. Troops were sent without provision, provision was sent without direction, conflicting orders from authority paralysed action, and the man at the spot, General Nixon, had to retire after the battle of Ctesiphon. A Commission of enquiry was issued and it scathingly attacked the Sec. of State (Mr. Chamberlain), Lord Hardinge (the Viceroy), and others of the Government of India. The virulence with which the press in England attacked Lord Hardinge, whom India will ever remember as one of her very few well-wishers and sympathisers, was after all prompted by party tactics. The immediate effect of the storm raised was the resignation of Mr. Chamberlain and the appointment of Mr. Montagu as the Secretary of State.

On the **Debate on the Report of the Mesopotamian Commission** in the House of Commons, 12 July 1917, Mr. Montagu in the course of his speech said :—

"I will now turn to Lord Hardinge. There can be no doubt in the mind of anybody who is acquainted with recent occurrences in India that Lord Hardinge when he left India left it by the universal opinion of all Indians, people and Princes, as the most popular Viceroy of modern times.

"He is censured by this document (the Report) for what, for the fact that he relied too much upon those who had been chosen to give him military advice. Among the many things we have never decided in this country are the relations between politicians and soldiers. On the same day you may read two newspapers : sometimes, I think, you will read in one newspaper trenchant criticisms against the Government for overruling or discrediting or attempting to hamper the action of their military advisers, and on the other hand you will find peremptory demands that they should so hamper, overrule or criticise their military advisers. The two accusations are not in harmony with one another, and the true relation of the responsibility of politicians and soldiers has never been satisfactorily decided in this country, or as far as I know, by any Government. But the mistake that Lord Hardinge made, if it be a mistake, is the same mistake as my Right Hon. friend made when he relied upon Lord French and Sir Douglas Haig, and the same mistake he is making when he relies now on the advice of Sir Douglas Haig.

"Lord Hardinge's reliance upon Sir Beauchamp Duff is not different from that of my Right Hon. friend opposite. Lord Hardinge in this regard cannot be treated as an isolated figure. I think the real charge against the Indian Government is a charge in which I want to include Lord Hardinge and my Right Hon. friend opposite (Mr. Chamberlain) and his predecessor in office, Lord Crewe.

"It is so easy to be wise after the event. At the beginning of the war I believe there was too great doubt of the loyalty and co-operation of the Indian people. The *Times* newspaper, day after day for sessions and months past, had articles pointing out that sedition was supposed to be rife. It loomed certainly much too large in the discussions of the House. It misled the Germans into thinking India was disloyal, and the deliberate policy of the Government in regard to India during the War seems to me to have been this : Let us make as little contribution as we can from India : Keep the War away from India ; we will take Indian soldiers and put them into France, and lend Indian civilians to the Home Government. India geographically as a country should be content with defending its own frontiers, and in maintaining order—a very great responsibility—inside the continent of India. Apart from that it was to do nothing near itself in the War. The people of India were not even asked to contribute to the War, although they asked Parliament that they should be allowed to contribute. I am told that volunteers were asked for in Bengal for certain purposes, and afterwards were told they were not wanted. I am talking now of the beginning of the War. The policy was that we did not know

whether India should co-operate in this War or not; we did not trust them; we dare not trust them—I am not criticising them from that point of view—let us keep the War far from India. Then events proved that the Indian people were anxious to co-operate, and the share of the Indian people in this War, from beginning to the end, has always been greater than the share of the Indian Government in this War, and always more willing than the share of the Indian Government. When this atmosphere had been created, when Indian troops had been sent to France, and as Lord Hardinge said, when India had been “bled white” suddenly there comes a change of policy, this expedition to Bagdad, a complete reversal of policy, unaccompanied, so far as I can see, with any big enough effort to put the Government and organisation of India, which was then on a peace footing, on a war footing, for an aggressive war, comparable to the change in policy. Therefore, the machinery was overturned; there was no equipment for war, and when expeditions were sent abroad they ought to have been equipped in a way comparable to the equipment of the expeditionary forces in this country and in our Dominions. As a matter of fact, here comes what I regard a true reduction from this source. The machinery of Government in this country, with its unwritten constitution, and the machinery of Government in our Dominions, has proved itself sufficiently elastic, sufficiently capable of modification, to turn a peace-pursuing instrument into a war-making instrument. It is the Government of India alone which does not seem capable of transformation, and I regard that as based upon the fact that the machinery is statute-written machinery. *The Government of India is too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antediluvian, to be of any use for the modern purposes we have in view.* I do not believe that anybody could ever support the Government of India from the point of view of modern requirements.

The Ghost of an Indian Debate.

“The tone of those Debates was unreal, unsubstantial and ineffective. If estimates for India, like estimates for the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Colonial Secretary were to be discussed on the floor of the House of Commons, the Debates on India would be as good as the debates on foreign affairs. After all, what is the difference? Has it ever been suggested to the people of Australia that they should pay the salary of the Secretary of State for the Colony? Why should the whole cost of that building itself, in Charles Street, including the building itself, be an item of the Indian taxpayer's burden rather than that of this House of Commons and the people

of this country? If I may give one example of the inconvenience of the existing system, I would refer to the Indian Cotton Duties debate which occurred in this House this year. The Cotton Duties had been imposed and there was no possible way of undoing that. That is the attitude in which we always debate Indian affairs. You have got no opportunity of settling the policy. It has been sometimes questioned whether a democracy can rule an Empire. I say that in this instance the democracy has never had the opportunity of trying. But even if the House of Commons were to give orders to the Secretary of State, the Secretary of State is not his own master. In matters vitally affecting India, he can be overruled by a majority of his Council. I may be told that the cases are very rare in which the Council has differed from the Secretary of State for India. I know one case anyhow, where it was a very near thing, and where the action of the Council might without remedy have involved the Government of India in a policy out of harmony with the declared policy of the House of Commons and the Cabinet. And these gentlemen are appointed for seven years, and can only be controlled from the House of Parliament by Resolution carried in both Houses calling on them for their resignations. The whole system of the India Office is designed to prevent control by the House of Commons for fear that there might be too advanced a Secretary of State. I do not say that it is possible to govern India through the intervention of the Secretary of State with no expert advice, but what I do say is that in this epoch, now after the Mesopotamia Report, he must get his expert advice in some other way than by this Council of men, great men though no doubt they always are, who come home after lengthy service in India to spend the first year of their retirement as members of the Council of India. No wonder that the practice of telegrams backward and forward and of private telegrams, commented upon by the Mesopotamia Report, has come into existence.

Red tape in India Office.

"Does any Member of this House know much about procedure in the India Office, how the Council sits in Committees, how there is interposed between the Civil Servant and the political Chiefs, the Committees of the India Council, and how the draft on some simple question comes up through the Civil servant to the Under-Secretary of State, and may be referred back to the Committee which sends it back to him, and it then goes to the Secretary of State, who then sends it to India Council, which may refer it back to the Committee, and two or three times in its history may

go backwards and forwards? I say that that is a system so cumbersome, so designed to prevent efficiency and change that in the light of these revelations it cannot continue to exist. I speak very bitterly, and I speak with some feelings on this subject, for in the year 1912 a very small modification in this machinery was attempted by Lord Crewe, and a Bill was introduced into the House of Commons. On the motion of Lord Curzon, it was thrown out on Second Reading in another place. Its authorship was attributed to me, and I was supposed to have forged it on my Noble Chief, because I found that the machinery of the India Office was not good for my own purposes. My only desire then, as it is now, was to try and find something which had some semblance of speedy action. Government offices are often accused of circumlocution and red-tape. I have been to the India Office and to other offices. *I tell this House that the statutory organisation of the India Office produces an apotheosis of circumlocution and red-tape beyond the dreams of any ordinary citizen.* Now I will come to one particular detail of the India Office administration before I pass from this subject. I think the Mesopotamia Report stigmatises the conduct of the Stores Department as in the one respect unbusinesslike. The Stores Department of the India Office is a Department whose sole function—a most important function certainly—is the purchase of millions of pounds worth of equipment for the Indian Army, clothing and such like. It is presided over by a Civil servant; in the year 1912 or 1913 a vacancy occurred in that office, and it was suggested then that the proper man to superintend mere purchasing operations of that kind was a business man, an institution of the policy always associated with the Prime Minister. Great difficulties appeared in the way of the appointment of a business man, and a Civil servant was appointed. But it was agreed then that the next occupant of the office should be a business man. My right Hon. Friend, the Secretary of State, told me yesterday that a Civil servant had again been appointed.

Too Rigid Government.

"I come now to the question of the Government of India from India. I think that the control of this House over the Secretary of State ought to be more real, and I would say further that the independence of the Viceroy from the Secretary of State ought to be much greater. You cannot govern a great country by the despatch of telegrams. The Viceroy ought to have far greater powers devolved to him than is at present the case. When I say that, I do submit that you cannot leave the Viceroy as it is. Are there four much more busy men in this country than His Majesty

the King, the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Speaker of the House of Commons? Yet the analogous positions of these four posts are held by one man in India, and he is expected to be responsible and closely to investigate the conduct of a great expedition like this! You cannot find an individual who can undertake the work. Your executive system in India has broken down because it is not constituted for the complicated duties of modern Government but you cannot reorganise the Executive Government of India, remodel the Viceroyalty, and give the Executive Government more freedom from this House of Commons and the Secretary of State, unless you make it more responsible to the people of India. Really the whole system has got to be explored in the light of the Mesopotamian Commission. It has proved to be of too much rigidity. My Hon. and gallant friend opposite (Com. Wedgwood) in his Minority Report, I think—certainly in the questions he has asked in this House—*seems to advocate a complete Home Rule for India*. I do not believe there is any demand for that in India on a large scale. I do not believe it will be possible, or certainly be a cure for these evils.

Commander Wedgwood :—I want that to be the goal towards which we are driving.

Mr. Montagu : As a goal, I see a different picture; I see the great self-governing Dominions and provinces of India organised and co-ordinated with the great principalities, the existing principalities—and perhaps new ones—not one great Home Rule country, but a series of self-governing provinces and Principalities, federated by one central Government. But whatever be the object of your rule in India, the universal demand of those Indians whom I have met and corresponded with is that you should state it. Having stated it you should give some instalment to show that you are in real earnest; some beginning of the new plan which you intend to pursue; that gives you the opportunity of giving greater representative institutions in some form or other to the people of India, of giving them greater control of their Executive, of remodelling the Executive—that affords you the opportunity of giving the Executive more liberty from Home because you cannot leave your harassed officials responsible to two sets of people. Responsibility here at home was intended to replace or to be a substitute for responsibility in India. As you increase responsibility in India you can lessen that responsibility at home.

The Will of the Indian People.

“But I am positive of this, your great claim to continue the illogical system of Government by which we have governed India in the past is that it was efficient. It has been proved to be *not* efficient.

It has been proved to be not sufficiently elastic to express the will of the Indian people, to make them into a warring nation as they wanted to be. The history of this war shows that you can rely upon the loyalty of the Indian people to the British Empire—if you ever before doubted it! If you want to use that loyalty you must take advantage of that love of country which is a religion in India, and you must give them that higher opportunity of controlling their own destinies, not merely by councils which cannot act, but by control, by growing control of the Executive itself. Then in your next war—if we ever have war—in your next crisis, through times of peace, you will have a contented India, an India equipped to help. Believe me, Mr. Speaker, it is not a question of expediency, it is not a question of desirability. Unless you are prepared to remodel, in the light of modern experience, this century-old and cumbrous machine, then I believe, I verily believe, that you will lose your right to control the destinies of the Indian Empire."

Mr Montagu's liberal ideas are best expounded in his own **speech at Cambridge on Liberslism** delivered on the 28 Feb. 1912, the year of the great Imperial Durbar at Delhi when he was the Under Secretary. In the course of his address he said:—

"The keystone of Canadian loyalty is the freedom of the Canadian people. Canada has not moved a step towards separation or Republican institutions, yet Canada is divided only by an imaginary line from the greatest and most progressive Republic in the world, and the tie of free association within the Empire has held in face of the strongest natural and political attractions. From that the Conservatives ought to have learnt a lesson in Empire-building, but they learnt nothing. When more than fifty years had passed, when Canada was becoming increasingly loyal and prosperous, we came to South Africa. Had the Conservatives learnt anything in Empire-building? The Lyttelton Constitution, rejected by the Dutch, fraught with friction and irritation at every step, was their best performance. When fortunately and by the mercy of heaven the end of their reign came and Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, by his application to South Africa of the liberal principles of freedom, laid the foundations of the South African Union, of another Canada in Africa, which in my opinion justified the policy of the British Empire in the eyes of the world, yet the then leader of the Conservative party, Mr. Balfour, called our policy the most reckless experiment of modern times.

The Turn of India.

Well, then, when these principles of self-government had been applied in their most extreme form, came the turn of India, when Lord

Morley introduced his Indian Councils Act in 1909. Here was no far-reaching scheme, here was no reckless experiment, merely a cautious attempt to associate the governed with the governor and to give expression to popular opinion in India. And we had the late Lord Percy in the House of Commons saying ! "Therefore, although it is our duty to warn the Government of the dangers which in our opinion attend many of the steps which we are recommending, the responsibility of acting upon or neglecting the warning must rest with the Government themselves." And we had the usual carping criticism of Lord Curzon. Well, nobody can doubt the success of the Indian Councils Act, but still the Conservatives have learnt no better. The latest efforts in Imperial workmanship were the far-reaching reforms announced the other day at Delhi as the central feature of His Majesty's successful visit to his Indian dominions. It would be improper for me to discuss these reforms without prefacing my remarks with a word of my own personal belief that the great outstanding triumph of that Indian tour was the personality of King George himself. The good results of his gracious voyage to India will long outlive the pleasure afforded the Indian people by the opportunity of demonstrating their overwhelming loyalty to the British Throne.

The Durbar Announcements.

"In the House of Commons Mr. Bonar Law dismissed it with two criticisms : firstly, that it would cost money ; and, secondly, that the reversal of the partition of Bengal, as he called it, was a damaging blow to our *prestige*. I would say in passing that the complaint about expense as the first objection to a great Imperial measure is typical of modern Conservatism. To them ideals, poetry, liberty, imagination are unknown ; they reduce Empire to a profit and loss account ; their ideal is one of a cash nexus, and a million or two is to them far more important than the fact that the transfer of capital provides India with a new city, in a historic place, amid the enthusiastic welcome of the whole of a tradition-loving people. And as for prestige—O India, how much happier would have been your history if that word had been left out of the English vocabulary ! But there you have Conservative Imperialism at its worst : *we are not there, mark you, to repair evil, to amend injustice, to profit by experience—we must abide by our mistakes, continue to outrage popular opinion simply for the sake of being able to say, "I have said what I have said."* I have in other places and at other times expressed my opinion freely on prestige. We do not hold India by invoking this well-mouthed word ; we must hold it by

just institutions, and more and more as time goes on by the consent of the governed. That consent must be based on the respect which we shall teach them for the progressive justice of the Government in responding to their legitimate demands. But Mr. Bonar Law knows nothing of India, as he will be the first to admit, and it is to the House of Lords that we must turn for a more exhaustive criticism of our proposals.

Lord Curzon !!

"In the lengthy speech which he delivered last week in the House of Lords he did lip-service to Parliamentary control, but notwithstanding the fact that Lord Midleton was sitting next him, notwithstanding the fact that it was Mr. Brodrick, as he then was, not Lord Curzon, who was technically responsible for a large part of the Curzonian administration, he never mentioned the ex-Secretary of State in the whole course of his speech, nor did Lord Midleton speak himself. Lord Curzon has chosen as a point of survey for the work of which he is so proud—a point in which he is in his own light, and his shadow is over everything that he has done. It is not "Hands off India" that he preaches: it is "Leave Curzonian India as Lord Curzon left it." To alter anything that Lord Curzon did would be damaging to our prestige !!!

Why the Partition was Reversed.

"Next, Lord Curzon stated that our policy involved a reversal of his policy. I trust Lord Curzon will forgive me for saying that he never had a policy at all. (*Laughter and applause.*) He was a mere administrator, an industrious, fervid, and efficient administrator. He was, in a word, a chauffeur who spent his time polishing up the machinery, screwing every nut and bolt of his car ready to make it go, but he never drove it; he did not know where to drive it to. (*Applause.*) He merely marked time and waited until a reforming Government gave marching orders. If he were to claim that the partition of Bengal was more than an administrative measure, designed as a part of a policy, then I say that it was even a worse mistake than I thought it, for the making of a Mahomedan State was a departure from accepted British policy which was bound to result in the antithesising and antagonising of Hindu and Mahomedan opinion. I had always hoped that this was the unforeseen result, and not a deliberate achievement, of Lord Curzon's blunder. It has always been the proud boast of English rule in India that we have not interfered between the different races, religions, and creeds which we found in the country.

The New Policy.

"Where the difference lies is in this : that we have endeavoured to look ahead, to co-ordinate our changes in Bengal with the general lines of our future policy in India, which is stated now for the first time in the Government of India's despatch that has been published as a Parliamentary Paper. That statement shows the goal, the aim towards which we propose to work—not immediately, not in a hurry, but gradually. Perhaps you will allow me to quote the sentence in the despatch which contains the pith of the statement : "The only possible solution would appear to be gradually to give the provinces a larger measure of self-government until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern." We cannot drift on for ever without stating a policy. A new generation, a new school of thought, fostered by our education and new European learning, has grown up, and it asks : "What are you going to do with us ?" The Extremist politicians, who form the outside fringe of this school, have made up their minds as to what they want. One of their leaders, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, has drawn up and published a full, frank, detailed, logical exposition of the exact form of "swaraj," or, as may be roughly translated, "Colonial self-government," that they want. The Moderates look to us to say what lines our future policy is to take. We have never answered that, and we have put off answering them for too long. At last, and not too soon, a Viceroy has had the courage to state the trend of British policy in India and the lines on which we propose to advance."



House of Commons—20 Aug. 1919.

THE DECLARATION OF POLICY.

Mr. C. Roberts asked the Sec. of State for India whether he is in a position to make any announcement as to the policy which the Government intend to pursue in India?

Mr. Montagu—The Government of India have for some time been urging that a statement should be made in regard to Indian Policy, and I am glad to have the opportunity afforded by my hon. Friend's question of meeting their wish.

The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance, as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be, that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at Home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided, with His Majesty's approval, that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Govt. of India to consider with the Viceroy the views of the Local Govts., and to receive the suggestions of representative bodies and others. I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and

advancement of the Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility. Ample opportunity will be afforded for the public discussion of the proposals, which will be submitted in due course to Parliament.

The same statement will be made today in India.

Sir. J. D. Rees—When is it decided that the right. hon. Gentleman is to go to India ?

Mr. Montagu—During the winter.

Com. Wedgwood—May I ask whether in view of this admirable statement, there is any chance of an amnesty of people imprisoned in India ?

Mr. Montagu—I cannot add anything to my statement. As my hon. and gallant friend is aware, the responsibility for the maintenance of order in India rests on the Govt. of India.

Mr. Hewins—May I ask whether the principles on which the right hon. gentleman proposes to act were correctly outlined by him in the speech he made prior to his appointment ?

Mr. Montagu—That speech was made when I was a private member, and represented my own views. I am now acting as the spokesman of His Majesty's Government.

Mr. Hewins—May I ask if those views have been accepted by his Majesty's Government ?

Mr. Montagu—I do not think I can make an announcement of policy when the decision of the Cabinet is that we should proceed to elaborate that policy by conversations between the India office and the Government of India.

Mr. Hewins :—Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that statements of policy were put forward by himself on that occasion and also by Lord Islington and we want to know whether those statements represent the views of the Government ?

Mr. Montagu : I have today announced the views of the Government. I do not think I can be cross-examined about a speech I made when I was a private member.



Mrs. Besant's Internment.

House of Commons—16 October, '17.

Political agitation in India—Mrs. Besant's Internment.

Sir J. D. Rees asked the Secy. of State whether he can make any statement to the House regarding the orders passed in India for the internment and for the release of Mrs. Besant and her associates?

Mr. Montagu—I do not think that I need say much to-day as to the restrictions placed on Mrs. Besant, Mr. Arundale and Mr. Wadia under the defence of India Regulations. But it is important to say this : that the action taken by the Government of Madras in June was essentially precautionary rather than punitive. The Madras Government have repeatedly stated that they had no wish to check constitutional agitation as such, but that they considered that the methods employed by the agitators left them no option but to remove Mrs. Besant and her associates from Madras by recourse to the Defence of India Regulations. But restrictions of this kind must lead to a consideration of the date of their removal, for there was obviously no date set and obviously also they were not intended to last for ever. It would be reasonable to expect that the restrictions would be removed when the Government of India was satisfied that their removal would not lead to the recurrence of practices which they were designed to prevent.

Accordingly when I made the announcement on 20th August last as to the policy of his Majesty's Government in regard to India, I asked the Viceroy whether the Government of India would consider in view of the alteration of circumstances, the question of removing the restrictions imposed upon persons who solely on account of their violent or improper methods of political agitation had been dealt with under the defence of India act. Subsequently I asked that in view of the meeting of Parliament and the possible necessity of laying papers if it was decided to maintain the restrictions upon her, a decision as to Mrs. Besant should be taken as soon as possible.

The action taken by the Government of India was taken on their own responsibility, but we were all anxious to secure a tranquil

atmosphere in the future, and this does not mean that I am not in complete accord with their action.

He then quoted the question and answer in the Imperial Legislative Council, India, of the 5th September, '17 referring the matter in question, and continued :—

Afterwards the Government of India received assurances from influential sources as to Mrs. Besant's conduct which they considered satisfactory, and therefore decided to recommend to the Madras Government the removal of the restrictions on Mrs. Besant and her colleagues, as they regarded the retention of these restrictions as not being necessary in view of the altered situation created by the announcement of policy. The Viceroy received a telegram from Mrs. Besant conveying to him an assurance that she was ready to co-operate in obtaining a calm atmosphere during my visit.

I would remind the House that although Mrs Besant had been dealt with by the Government of Madras, her sphere of influence and action extended to other provinces, and the removal of these restrictions was thus of more than provincial interest. The course followed in now way implied any criticism of the action originally taken by the Local Government which was in fact approved by the Government of India, and has never been questioned by me.

Mr. Joynson-Hicks enquired of the Leader of the House whether seeing that this important matter should be discussed before Mr Montagu left for India, he (the Leader) could give a day—even half a day—to debate this question ?

Mr. Bonar Law :—I donot think a discussion would be of advantage at the present moment, but it might be discussed on the adjournment.

Com. Wedgwood : May I ask whether the relaxation and amnesty will extend to the Mahomedan Leaders who are excluded on the same terms as Mrs. Besant.

Mr. Montagu : I do not know to what Mahomedan leaders my friend refers. There are certain Mahomedan gentlemen who are interned at the present moment but not for the same reason as Mrs. Besant.—They are interned because of their promoting sympathy with his Majesty's enemies, and they cannot be considered as coming under the same category.

On the Motion for Adjournment.

Mr. Joynson Hicks said :—The points I desire to raise are as to whether Mrs. Besant was rightly interned, and I think that the house will agree that she was ; whether there was any reason to alter the decision, and whether the release is likely to make for peace and quietness in India. I want the House to understand that—

she has during the last two or three years, during the strain of this war, deliberately made speeches and issued writings exceedingly detrimental to the peace and well-being of India. Every other section in India, particularly the moderates, have agreed to abstain from all political agitation. In 1916 when the war was well under way, Mrs. Besant started "New India." Her writings were so bad that the authorities compelled the paper to furnish a guarantee of Rs 2,000, and last year that money had to be forfeited. Mrs. Besant appealed and questioned the legality of this action. This was heard by 3 Judges, 2 of whom were Indians and they unanimously came to the conclusion that Mrs. Besant had held the Government up to hatred and contempt, and that her articles had a tendency to disseminate disaffection through out India.

In March last the Viceroy referred to Mrs. Besant's action and quoted from her paper. He said (after reading extracts from her paper) "what is this but to exaggerate the ills of India and to ascribe them all to the Government"? The Viceroy also quoted the C. J. "This seems to me most pernicious writing, and writing which must tend to encourage political assassination." The Viceroy then went on : What are these but stirring up hatred and contempt ; do you suggest that language like this can have no ill effect ?

Upon this decision Lord Pentland came to the conclusion that a stop must be put to Mrs. Besant's activities, and he with the assent of the Viceroy and of the Sec. of State (Chamberlain) decided to take further action against her. He sent for her and personally tried to dissuade her from carrying on his propaganda during the War, asking her for an undertaking not to do so. She declined and then with the assent of the Viceroy he had her interned.

I want to ask my Rt. hon. friend (Montagu) if he will give the House the papers so that we may get the whole of the details. It is quite clear that he did write or telegraph something to India very soon after he entered office, partly in view of his going to India and partly to ask the Viceroy whether he would grant an amnesty to these particular prisoners.

My Rt. hon. friend told us this afternoon that Government had received undertakings from influential friends of Mrs. Besant that she would abstain from violent methods of political agitation during the war. But there has been no undertaking from the lady herself. She has, since her release, been going about India stirring up agitation ; she has openly stated that she has entered into no conditions whatever with regard to her release ; she has conducted a triumphant tour throughout India. In consequence of her action she has been elected president of the National Congress. The action taken by the Right hon. gentleman (Montagu) is presumably

does not suggest to me that I should tell the Government of India that I question whether the assurances are satisfactory? Evidence shows that Mrs. Besant and her friends who present a portion of the problem, but only a portion, are willing to co-operate in the discussions which arise. Therefore by her release you have assured the cessation of those practices. This was done by the Government of India, and if it is not impertinent for me to say so, I think that they acted in a wise and statesman like manner.

Regarding the Anglo Indian Community Mr. Montagu said :—

The views of the Anglo-Indian community will of course be considered. It would be monstrous if they were not, for after all they have played an enormous part in building up the material prosperity of India. As regards Home-rule and policy, that is what we are going to discuss in India. I am not going to make any further pronouncement upon it at all, and I am sure my Hon. friend will not press me to go beyond the announcement of 20th August. That is the policy of His Majesty's Government and the policy of the Viceroy and his Government. If the Hon. member will read that announcement over again he will see that many of the dangers which he anticipates are safeguarded by the very words of that carefully drawn up pronouncement of policy, and all we ask is that all those people who in different ways and directions are anxious for the well-ordered progress of India towards the end which is declared in that pronouncement will proceed together to a discussion of this matter, eventually in full publicity, in order that we may lay firm foundations of that future and uninterrupted progress, and get out of the way of the agitation which has been aroused in other circumstances by the action of the Government of India. That seems to me to be a step which no one in the House has a right to quarrel with.

Commander Wedgwood said he could not understand what was gained by branding everybody who advocated Home-Rule as disloyal. The people would be far more disloyal to the traditions of Great Britain if they did not advocate Home-Rule. Personally he was glad that the Government has released Mrs. Besant, and he hoped she would continue her Home rule agitation in India, because, he said : "you cannot grant Home-rule to any people without benefitting not only those people but the British Empire. Our traditions are based on freedoms, and one of the most remarkable examples of the confidence and reliance we may place on our freedom is to be found in the case of South Africa."

in order that he may have a peaceful progress in India when he makes his visit. But I think that that will have a reverse effect. The whole of Anglo India today is in a ferment. They are strongly of opinion that the release will be disastrous to India.

[The speaker then referred to various telegrams from Anglo Indians and also to several statements made by the late Sec. of State, Mr. Chamberlain, as to the violent character of the agitation conducted by Mrs. Besant. He continued :—]

I do not want to go back on the Home Rule speeches of the Rt hon. gentleman (Montagu). It is very regrettable, I think, that while the voice of his predecessor is still hot in the ears of the public he should suggest that this lady should be released. He is going out to India as a missionary of peace and goodwill. He is responsible for the Government not only of the Indian Extremists but also of the loyal Indians. He is also responsible for the well-being of the Anglo-Indians.

What I am asking my Rt. hon. friend to do is to make a statement here before he goes to India that he will assuage as far as he can the ferment which has undoubtedly arisen in the Anglo-Indian Community by assuring us that he is not going to India to express any such ideas as Home Rule for India, and that he will show that he has no sympathy with Mrs. Besant or with the extremist agitation.

Sir J. D. Rees : I confess I do not know what good, and I do feel that much harm, may result from the speech which my hon. friend has made. What, after all, is it he wants? Does he want the Government of India to cancel the order for the release of this lady and her companions and to shut them up again? Does he want that? If he does not, what is to be the practical outcome of this discussion? I disapprove of Mrs. Besant as heartily as my hon. friend. I think it would have been to the advantage of India if she could be induced to leave India altogether. But there are many other political associations established in India, and you cannot keep them permanently shut up. I never was an advanced reformer, but whenever the question of deportations and internments have been brought forward, the great object of most of those concerned have been to get the prisoners released as soon as possible, for they are more troublesome and more dangerous in confinement than they are outside.

My hon. friend was no doubt right in saying what is the general feeling of Anglo-India on this point, but there is room in this particular case for a difference of opinion. The very paper which is a byword of Anglo-Indian officialism in India, "the Pioneer", says in its issue, 8th Sep. '17.

"It is only fair to acknowledge that Lord Chelmsford is not the stamp of man tamely to submit to acting against his convictions or to be at all likely to seek cheap popularity at the expense of the administration of which he is the head. If he is ready to show leniency to those who have for political reasons been interned, it is because he is honestly anxious to do all in his power to promote that spirit of mutual goodwill and confidence which he realises to be so necessary for the future welfare of India."

There is another point. Part of the gravamen of this complaint is that it is asserted that the Government of India, an independent administration overrode the Government of Madras, as independent administration. That is not the position. The Government of Madras is a subordinate administration. The Government of India was responsible to this House for the internment, and not the Government of Madras. The Govt. of India is responsible for the release. Lord Chelmsford has most expressly, publicly and fully, shouldered that responsibility, and there are some of the strongest opponents of the advanced party in India, like the Pioneer and myself, who think that Lord Chelmsford in this matter had probably good reason for what he did, and should be supported. In a letter to the Times, Lord Sydenham unintentionally misrepresented the situation. He was Governor of Bombay, and, like everyone else, is inclined to magnify his own office.

I presume the position to be this. I take it the Governor Genl. of India in Council considered that some eirenicon was necessary as this new policy was announced. It was announced and decided upon that it should have a fair chance, and if you have got the whole of the Congress Party—let me say they are not my party—in a state of ferment protesting against the internment of this lady, of whom, of course, they have made an absolute idol since she was interned—if that is going on, there is really no fair opportunity for the new departure. I do think that if the House is not to give a chance to the present departure, if it were to accentuate the very great difficulties which the Sec. of state will have going to India to discuss these questions, if we are not to endeavour to produce a "calm atmosphere", what possible chance can they have?

Is it statesman like of us, whatever our individual views may be, to endeavour to put a spoke in the wheel of this all important experiment? If Mrs. Besant and her friends again misconduct themselves, the Governor General in Council can move the Government of Madras, or the Government of Madras with the permission of the Governor General in Council, can again intern them. Until that happens what earthly use can result from my hon. friend raising this matter to-night?

The Sec. of State for India (Mr. Montagu) : I have very little to say on this matter ; the answer I gave this afternoon contains a complete account of the circumstances. There is very little for me to defend or to justify. I say again, the action of the Government of Madras was approved by the Government of India, approved and defended in this house by my predecessor, and it never fell to my lot to question it—I had no reason to concern myself with it. When my predecessor was in office my Rt. hon. friend, the Member for Cleveland (Mr. H. Samuel) from the Bench opposite asked him if he would lay papers about Mrs. Besant before the House of Commons. My predecessor said he would consider the matter. When I entered office it was necessary for me to consider carrying out the consideration which he had undertaken. The papers were not complete. With a view to laying those papers, I asked for complete papers (from India). But when the announcement of 20th Aug. was made, which in my view made a new situation, I suggested to the Viceroy, not that he should release Mrs. Besant, but that he should consider the release of all people who had been dealt with for unconstitutional agitation in connection with reforms.

Does my hon. friend (Mr. Joynson-Hicks) suggest that it is wrong for a secretary of state, who receives by many telegrams and letters,—even by suggestions in this House that the relaxation of those restrictions might be considered, is it suggested that it is wrong that I should convey that suggestion to the Viceroy? The situation was this. A large amount of agitation had been going on in India because there was a demand for an announcement of policy. An announcement of policy was not forthcoming. My hon. friend knows and the House knows, that the Govt. of India had been pressing for an announcement of policy for some months. An announcement is made—an announcement with which we were all in complete accord. The Government of India think that the consequences of that announcement will be that there will be a cessation of that agitation and that everybody concerned will lay their heads together to work out the policy which results from that announcement, and therefore a new situation occurs. There is no question of reversing the former policy, but a question of seeing whether the new circumstances will allow a relaxation of restrictions. The justification for that wholly depends on whether the people who are freed from restriction do not offend again. The justification depends on whether they have assurances or not which lead them to believe they will not offend. The Government of India told the Legislative Council and authorised me to tell the House that they have received such assurances. My hon. friend says he has evidence of a recrudescence of those practices. I have not. Surely my hon. friend

does not suggest to me that I should tell the Government of India that I question whether the assurances are satisfactory? Evidence shows that Mrs. Besant and her friends who present a portion of the problem, but only a portion, are willing to co-operate in the discussions which arise. Therefore by her release you have assured the cessation of those practices. This was done by the Government of India, and if it is not impertinent for me to say so, I think that they acted in a wise and statesman like manner.

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House of Lords.

Wednesday, 24th October 1917.

The Situation in India.

Lord Sydenham had the following notice on the Paper—

To draw attention to the present situation in India, with special regard to the internment and release of Mrs. Besant ; and to move for Papers.

The noble Lord said : My Lord, it is always an exceedingly difficult thing to say where a line ought to be drawn in checking freedom of speech or of writing, but I think it will be agreed to by everybody that such freedom must be curtailed if it is used to threaten public order or to sow the seeds of murder and of outrage.

In India it is absolutely necessary that restrictions of this kind should be enforced. The mass of the people are ignorant and perfectly ready to believe any false statements that may be made to them ; they are credulous to a degree that can hardly be conceived here. I should like to give one instance of that, of which your Lordships may not have heard. When we first started plague inoculation in India, a story was widely circulated in the Bombay Presidency that a holy man had said that an Indian with white blood would drive the English into the sea, and that we are pricking the arms of Indians in order to find the Indian with white blood and kill him off in good time. Besides that, the peoples of India are very easily excited, and serious disturbances often occur through the passing round of some obvious fiction which in Western countries would not attract a moment's attention. Every one who has lived in India must know many cases of that kind, and when disorders, thus promoted, occurs, then the most hateful duty of Government comes into play, and you have to put them down by force, with the sad result that in many cases some few perfectly harmless people may lose their lives.

But we have more direct evidence than this of the necessity of these restrictions in India. All political agitation in India, from the first, has been accompanied by assassinations, and in many cases

the assassins have themselves named the newspapers and the speakers from whom they drew the inspiration of murder. Mr. Jackson, a most valued Indian civilian, a student of Indian language and literature, and devoted to the people, was shot at an entertainment given to him by Indians, and the young assassin in his trial made this confession. He said—

"I read of many instances of oppression in the *Kesari*, the *Rashtra-mat*, the *Kal* and other newspapers. I think that by killing Sahebs my people can get justice. I never got justice myself, nor did any one I know. I now regret killing Mr. Jackson. I killed a good man causelessly."

Could a more tragic confession ever have been made? And was that young decadent Brahmin the real criminal? Other murderers have told exactly the same story in different words, and surely all such cases as that show that we can not allow speech and writing which is proved effective in leading young Indians into crime.

Mrs. Besant, who was formerly a student of theosophy, joined the ranks of the extremists and started a Home Rule movement of her own. She wrote a book which contains more reckless defiance of facts that I have ever seen compressed into the same small space, and in her paper *New India*, she appeared anxious to imitate the most dangerous language in which the Indian Press has indulged. She told excitable young Indians that India was a "perfect paradise" for 5,000 years before our advent, and that it had become a "perfect hell" owing to the "brutal British bureaucracy." Those are her expressions, not mine. She said that India had been "converted into a land of permanent famine and pestilence, and its children into a race of effeminate weaklings". She accused the British Government of "depriving a weaker people of their liberty, and retaining them under rule in perpetual slavery under the plea of civilising them and bettering their lot." There are no freer people in the world than Indians under our rule, and such oppression as exists is that of Indians by Indians, and it would be increased a hundred fold if we handed over the reins to the small body of Brahmins and lawyers whom Mrs. Besant is trying to lead. Surely language of that kind is exactly calculated to arouse an excitable people to rebellion. And would not rebellion be fully justified and even become a public duty if the British Government were really inflicting permanent famine and pestilence on India and holding Indians in perpetual slavery?

To those of us who have been called upon to play a part in governing India, and whose only thought has been to do the best we could for the people of India, such expressions, of course, seem

the wildest possible nonsense, but there are millions of people in India who are perfectly ready to believe them. In olden days, pestilence and famine were attributed to be the work of the Gods. It is an Englishwoman who tells Indians that they are due to a Government which has done the utmost with great success to combat both pestilence and famine.

But Mrs. Besant's libels on our countrymen do not end with false assertions of that kind. In a book which is now about to be republished in India to gain the advantage of her fresh access to notoriety, she states that for every wrong done to a white woman in Africa "tens of thousands of Kaffir women are outraged." I think the noble Earl and the noble Viscount who filled with great distinction the office of High Commissioner in South Africa would warmly repudiate that statement.

Mrs. Besant then goes on to generalise. She says that—

"It is there that lies one of our greatest sins ; the utter disregard of morality where coloured women are concerned ; the shameful disregard of womanhood in every country whereunto Britain has entered and where Britain rules."

That is a specimen of the mental food which Mrs. Besant provides for excitable young Indian students in a country where the treatment of women is one of the great bars to progress. In her purely theosophical days, Mrs. Besant had distinguished herself by violent attacks on missionary bodies in India, and by strong opposition to the teaching of the Christian religion in India. I cannot speak too highly of the British and American missions who are doing to my knowledge a wonderful work in uplifting the depressed classes of India.

Since Mrs. Besant combined theosophy with politics her language and activities and writings have taken a peculiarly dangerous form. Those activities were first brought to my mind by a very distinguished Mahomedan who wrote to me that he could not understand why the Government permitted a propaganda which was having a disastrous effect upon Indian minds. At length the Government of Madras decided to enforce the provisions of the Press Act, and Mrs. Besant was ordered to give security for the good conduct of her paper. As the violence of that paper, *New India*, continued quite unabated, the security was sequestered. That gave her a right of appeal to the High Court of Madras. The case was heard by three Judges, of whom two were Indians, and the action of the Madras Government was confirmed. I will quote some fragmentary

passages adduced at the trial which may have had an effect in influencing the decision of the High Court.

"When crimes are committed legally ; when innocence is no protection ; when we live in a state of anarchy. We should be better off in a state of savagery, for then we should carry arms and protect ourselves. We are helpless. We pay taxes to be wronged."

There has been no more tranquil province in India than Madras until Mrs. Besant took up her residence there. Here is another passage—

"News of Prussian aggression and German atrocity are communicated to India to bewilder the Indian imagination. They are committed under pressure, under passion, they are common. But what does this mean, this perpetration of atrocity in civic life in peaceful times, in a peaceful province?"

The German crimes are excused and compared most favourably to the mild and ineffective action of the Government of Madras. One passage in *New India*, quoted at the trial, was written by a notorious extremist who commented on the recent assassination of a every valuable Indian officer in Calcutta. He said—

"No reasonable Indian has ever publicly encouraged these crimes. There was quiet and even courageous determination in the conduct of the assassins.

They are idealists, though heroism may, according to some people, be too noble a word to apply to them. In consequence people are not even moved by a spirit of retributive justice towards them. We might recognise them as political offenders."

Well might one of the Judges point out that this was "pernicious writing which must tend to encourage assassination by removing public detestation of such a crime."

The decision of the High Court and the sequestration of the security given produced no effect whatever on the editor of the *New India*, and after further considerable delay the Madras Government resorted to the Defence of India Act, which gives powers of internment. Lord Pentland explained his action in a speech which was calculated to allay any kind of public misunderstanding. It was a most excellent speech, and I am informed it had the full approval of all real Indian opinion in Madras. It has been suggested that Mrs. Besant was doomed to languish in prison, and in a very mischievous manifesto addressed by her, "Brothers and sisters in India," she announced that she was about to be "dropped into the modern equivalent of the Middle Age *Oubliette*." There is a very considerable difference between an *oubliette* and a comfortable residence in the delightful climate of Ootacamund, which Mrs. Besant selected for her internment. At Ootacamund she was free to walk about, see

her friends, and help in working up a violent agitation for her release. But she was prevented by the "brutal British bureaucracy" from continuing to fly the Home Rule flag over her residence.

The Viceroy approved the internment of Mrs. Besant; and the late Secretary of State in another place, on June 26, also approved the action of the Government of Madras, and stated his opinion that Mrs. Besant's propaganda was dangerous to the peace of India. An eminent Hindu wrote to me these words—

"Ever since her internment a virulent agitation has been going on for her release. The Home Rulers met in conference and decided to carry on passive resistance unless she was forthwith released."

He added—

"If she is released unconditionally without giving any assurances as to the future, the position of the Government of Madras would be extremely critical. I do not think that they could maintain peace and order after such a blow to their prestige."

On July 30 a Joint Conference of the Congress and the Moslem League sent to the Viceroy and to the Secretary of State a long resolution, most discourteous and menacing in tone, demanding the immediate sanction of their political proposals and the immediate release of Mrs. Besant and party.

Lord Sydenham then referred to the importance of maintaining the prestige of British officials in a country like India, and continued—

It was declared that the release was decided upon in order to tranquilise the present situation. My Lords, does concessions made to flagrant breakers of the law ever tranquilise any situation?

The British Community in India is a very small body scattered over vast areas. The services which maintain order and conduct the administration are a mere handful of men amongst 315 millions of people. Their authority and even personal safety depend upon the visible strength of the Government of India. I know very well that the word "*prestige*" is hateful to every true democrat, but in Eastern countries the prestige of the Government is the only possible guarantee of the authority which is required every day for the preservation of public order. What would be the position of the two or three British officers in a far remote country district if they had not behind them the full support of a Government known to be strong? If the masses of India ever come to realise that the Government can be coerced by the threats of a noisy minority, then India will be launched well on the road to anarchy.

Then he said that India is extraordinarily prosperous (!) just now, and that the extremists have chosen this time for a break down of the Government. They have captured the Congress, he said, and the Moslem league, and are working up a large number of excitable youths. Such conditions very closely resemble Ireland where laxity of Government has led straight to Sinnism. He then drew an analogy with Russia, and said that the masses of the uneducated Russians are a prey to the agitators. He concluded by saying that he spoke not in British interest, "but in the true interests of the Indian peoples for whom, as long as I live, I shall cherish affection" !!!

The Under secretary of state (Lord Islington) summarised the debate under two heads : (1) exception to the reversal of the Madras Governments order on Mrs. Besant, and (2) apprehension of the result and effect of the Secretary of State's mission to India.

With regard to (1) he said that the position in India in June when the Madras Government interned Mrs. Besant was different from now. The change came about the time of the Announcement of Policy, 20th August, and the decision that the Secretary of State would visit India. The effect of that announcement, it was believed and desired, would be tranquillising, and it was believed that Mrs. Besant would refrain from her violent agitation. He said further :

My Lords, thousands of moderates all over India saw in the restrictions imposed an attempt to suppress free discussion of questions of self Government, although it was only her unconstitutional methods which it was desired to check. Holding these certainly mistaken view, they were very little likely, so long as the restrictions on Mrs. Besant remained, to accept as made in good faith the Government investigations of possible methods of reform. They would no doubt have devoted their energies to obtaining her release, and to maintain a controversy most distracting to those who are about to investigate and quite inimical to the calm atmosphere which is so desirable. Mrs Besant free will mean greater tranquility than Mrs. Besant interned.

As to the 2nd point, it has been asked why hopes of self Government as the ultimate goal have been excited. In reply Lord Islington assured their Lordships that that course of action has not been entered upon by the Secretary of State on his own responsibility or in any light-hearted fashion. They have not been wilfully provoked by his Majesty's Government. They have agitated for years. Lord Hardinge had to deal with them. Lord Chelmsford in referring to the 20th August announcement to his Council claimed that that policy was practically indistinguishable from that which the Govern-

ment of India had themselves put forward. He (Chelmsford) explained that but for the War the announcement would have been made much earlier and mentioned that he had himself invited the Secretary of State to India ; that Mr. Chamberlain was on the point of accepting when he resigned ; that he renewed the invitation to Mr. Montagu and was very gratified when the Cabinet decided that Mr. Montagu should accept the invitation.

For some time before the decision of the Cabinet the Viceroy had written and telegraphed constantly that agitation was increasing and would increase in the absence of a declaration of policy and that the situation was getting more and more grave in India. Mrs Besant and her Home Rule propaganda were a symptom of that unrest. Her cause attracted adherents and her influence was dangerous because of this silence and uncertainty. The announcement of August 20th cleared the air, and enabled the Government of India and other Indian authorities to know where they stood and gave them freedom to explain the promising position, the tranquilising of India, and to ask for cessation of agitation and for a calm atmosphere.

With regard to Lord Sydenham's request for papers, Lord Islington said that it is undesirable to lay the papers as desired, for there were naturally in those documents much that were of a highly controversial character which could not but give rise, if published, to much further discussion. It was the avoidance of such discussion which was desirable and he hoped the noble Lord would not lend himself to the creation of difficulties.

After Lords Middleton, Crewe, Carmichael, Lansdowne and Curzon had spoken the motion of Lord Sydenham was by leave withdrawn.

House of Commons—Wednesday, October 31, 1917.

Silver Currency Policy in India.

Mr. Gersham Stewart asked the President of the Board of Education, as representing the Secretary of State for India, whether, in view of the fact that for some time the price of silver had been above the equivalent of rs. 4d. to the rupee, the Indian Government had incurred any loss in supplying the necessary rupees for military operations in Mesopotamia and other places and, if so, could he state the amount of the loss and how it would ultimately be met; whether the Indian Government had drawn on its reserve of rupees coined before the rise in silver, replacing them in India by a currency of notes of a low valuation; could he state the amount of the new issue of small notes; whether this form of currency was as acceptable to the native population as the metallic currency to which they had been so long accustomed; and whether the Indian Government was prepared to consider the advisability of joining in any movement to stabilise the price of silver and mitigate the constant oscillations and gambling in this currency medium.

Mr. Herbert Fisher: The purchases of silver above parity have been very recent. There is no reason to believe that rupees coined from such silver had gone to Mesopotamia. This being so, the second and third parts of the question do not arise. As the proposed notes for $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 1 rupees have not yet been issued, the answer to the fourth part is in the negative; and the fifth and sixth parts cannot yet be answered. With regard to the last part, the Secretary of State for India would, of course, consider anything put before him from a responsible quarter.

Mr. Stewart: Will the right Hon. gentleman endeavour to persuade the Government of India to modify the hostile attitude towards silver which they have adopted of late years?

Mr. Fisher: I was not aware that there was any hostile attitude.

H. of Coms.—Monday, November 5, 1917.

The Madras High Court.

Mr. Snowden asked the President of the Board of Education, as representing the Secretary of State for India, if the Imperial Government had deviated from the policy laid down in the Charter Act that the appointment of judges to the Madras High Court should rest with His Majesty; if these powers had been delegated to the Governor General in Council; and, if not,

why two of the four temporary judges acting since 1914 had been placed on the permanent strength of the High Court of Madras.

Mr. Herbert Fisher : The Government of India Act, 1915, empowers the Governor-General in Council to appoint temporary additional judges for a period not exceeding two years. Four additional judges had been so appointed and were serving in Madras when the Secretary of State in Council decided to increase the permanent strength of the Court by two judges. The two persons whom His Majesty has been pleased to appoint permanently to the Court, under the provisions of the Indian High Courts Act of 1861, were at the time of their appointment serving as temporary assistant judges. There has been no deviation from the policy laid down by Parliament.

RAID ON HOME RULE LEAGUE OFFICE.

Lajpat Rai's Book 'Young India.'

Commander Wedgwood asked whether the office of the Home Rule for India League in Robert Street, W C, has been raided; whether the aims or methods of this League are considered or suspected of being seditious or illegal; and whether legal proceedings are contemplated?

Sir G. Cave : The Office of this league was searched by the police on the 3rd November for copies of a book containing statements which encouraged sedition and assassination. The papers seized are under examination, and I am not at present prepared to express any opinion upon the aims or methods of the league, or whether criminal proceedings are likely to be taken.

Com. Wedgwood : Was not the book seized the book to which I wrote a preface?

Sir G. Cave : Yes : I think that the Hon. and gallant Gentleman did make himself responsible for it.

Com. Wedgwood : Am I to be prosecuted as well as anybody else? It is a travesty to say that any such suggestion was made in that volume. Was this search undertaken after consultation with the India Office or not, or is it held to be in support of decent relations between Anglo-Indians and Indians in India?

Sir G. Cave : It was taken after consultation.

Mr. King : As it has taken over a fortnight to decide whether the Hon. and gallant Member's references are seditious, will the right Hon. Gentleman say when he will come to a decision?

Sir G. Cave : I do not say that the writings of the hon. and

gallant Gentleman himself are seditious, but the book in itself encourages sedition.

Commander Wedgwood : It certainly does not

Mr. Lynch. Why do the public spirit and virtue of the right hon. Gentleman evaporate at a certain grade of society ?

H. of Coms.—November 22nd, 1917.

Com. Wedgwood asked the Prime Minister whether he is aware that charges have been made by the Home Secretary against an hon. Member of this House of supporting a publication which advocates assassination as a political weapon in India ; whether he is aware that the charge is unsupported by any evidence but is made to discredit the Indian Home Rule movement in the interest of the Anglo-Indian irreconcilables, contrary to the wishes of the India Office, by a Home Secretary insufficiently acquainted with the gravity of Indian politics ; and whether he will allot time to have this charge against the honour of a Member of this House discussed ?

Mr. Bonar Law : I cannot agree with the suggestions contained in this question, nor do I think it necessary to give a special opportunity for the discussion of the subject.

Com. Wedgwood : Am I to understand that a charge of such gravity can be made against a Member of this House by the Home Secretary without any further proceedings being taken and without any opportunity being given of showing that it was without a shadow of foundation ?

Mr. Bonar Law : I have read the question and the answer, and I have not drawn that inference from it. After the answer which I have given, perhaps the hon. Member would address his question to the Home Secretary ?

Com. Wedgwood : I beg to give notice that I will raise the matter on the adjournment to-morrow.

Com Wedgwood asked the Home Secretary (1) if he will state on what date the Home Office or police intimated to the India Office their desire to have the office of the India Home Rule League raided : whether the India Office concurred verbally or in writing ; in view of his accusation against a member of this House, will he lay Papers showing the responsibility of both the India Office and the police for the raid and for the assassin charge ; (2) whether he will indicate the passages in the book "Young India" by Lajpat Rai, with an introduction by the hon. Member for Newcastle, which he holds to advocate assassination ; whether he read these passages before making the charge or whether he was merely stating the opinion of Sir Archibald Bodkin ; (3) whether the idea of the raid

on the Indian Home Rule League originated with the Home office, the police, or the India Office ; (4) whether the India Office recommended the Home Office, or the police to raid the offices of the Home Rule for India League ; whether he was cognisant and approved of the raid before it took place.

Sir G. Cave : On the 31st October, the India Office notified my Department that the British branch of the Home Rule for India League were publishing a reprint of a book called "Young India," by one Lajpat Rai. The India office pointed out that this book had been prohibited in India, and that its importation in this country had also been prohibited, and expressed the view that its circulation was undesirable. I personally examined the book, and came to the conclusion that it contravened the Regulations under the Defence of the Realm Act and contained passages sympathising with extreme revolutionary methods (including the use of the bomb and the revolver) and condoning crimes of assassination which had been committed in India. I will give the hon. and gallant Member a note of some of the passages upon which my opinion was formed. The decision to have the premises searched, and the book seized was thereupon taken with the concurrence of the India Office. I may add that there is (as I am informed) cause to suspect that the author is subsidised by German agents in the United States of America, and it is certain that he uses language regarding British rule in India which is indistinguishable from that found in enemy propaganda.

The hon. and gallant Member will perhaps allow me to add that I have never suggested or for a moment believed that he would give his countenance to a publication which he knew to be of the character which I have described, and I am confident that, when he expressed his approval of the book in question, he had not realised the nature and tendency of some of the passages contained in the book.

Com. Wedgwood : May I ask whether the Right Hon. Gentleman read the book or whether it was read by Sir Archibald Bodkin ?

Sir G. Cave : I read the book from cover to cover.

Com. Wedgwood : Is the right hon. gentleman aware that 1,000 copies of the book were printed, and that they were sent to the Members of this House and to members of the House of Lords ?

Sir G. Cave : I am aware that the edition published in this country was a small one—1,000 was given to me as the number—

but you could not pass over even this small edition without it being said you could not suppress the rest.

Com. Wedgwood: Is it worth while in order to show the powers of the Home Office under the defence of the Realm Act to antagonise all those people in India who are pressing for Home Rule, and at a time when the Secretary of State for India is about there for this country?

Sir. H. Craik: Is it not the fact that Lajpat Rai was himself about ten years ago dealt with for seditious conduct in this country?

Sir G. Cave: Yes.

Com. Wedgwood: Is he not at the present moment free in India?

Sir G. Cave: I believe not.

Mr. Chancellor: Are any steps to be taken against the publisher, so that he may bring the matter before a Court—is he to be prosecuted?

Sir G. Cave: That is not in my province?

Mr. Outhwaite: Were those steps taken in order to make the world free for democracy?

Mr. Fisher: Free from assassination!

Com. Wedgwood: If you read the book, you would not talk rot like that.

H. of Coms.—November 26th, 1917.

“Young India”.

Com. Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that “Young India” by Lajpat Rai, was published more than two months ago; and why the notification of the alleged dangerous character of this book to the Home Office was postponed till after the Secretary of State’s departure for India?

Mr. Fisher: The India Office was not aware of the publication of the book in this country until some days after the Secretary of State’s departure for India.

Com. Wedgwood asked in what country Lajpat Rai is at present; and whether he is at large?

Mr. Fisher: Lajpat Rai is in the United States of America. So far as is known he is at large.

Commander Wedgwood asked the Home Secretary whether he has any documentary evidence that Lajpat Rai is subsidised by

German agents in America ; if this evidence comes from the American Government ; and if it can be shown to the hon. Member for Newcastle-under-Lyme ?

Sir G. Cave : It would obviously be against the public interest to answer the first two parts of this question. The third part therefore does not arise.

H. of Coms.:—November 28th 1917.

DEFENCE OF THE REALM REGULATIONS. YOUNG INDIA.

Com. Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Secretary of State in India or the Viceroy has been communicated with respecting the raid on the Indian Home Rule League's premises ?

Mr. Fisher : Not before the event. The Secretary of State was on the high seas when the India Office notified to the Home Office the fact that the book, the importation of which into this country and India was prohibited, has been published in England.

Com. Wedgwood : He was not on the high seas, as I understand, when the raid was sanctioned.

Com. Wedgwood : Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the book was sent to Mr. Montagu personally, and to all Members of the House when it was first published, and can he explain how it was that the India Office was not acquainted with the fact ?

Mr. Fisher : I do not know whether Mr. Montagu reads every book he receives.

Mr. Pringle : Will the Government now withdraw the ban upon this book, in view of the fact that the hon. and gallant Member who wrote the preface is now an official of the Government ?

Com. Wedgwood : I will raise this question at eleven o'clock to-night.

Com. Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India if he will state in what country Lajpat Rai is at present ; and whether he is at large ?

Mr. Fisher : Lajpat Rai is in the United States of America. So far is it known he is at large.

Com. Wedgwood : Has the Government of the United States been communicated with with a view to the internment of this

extremely dangerous person who, according to Sir Archibald Bodkin, advocates sedition and assassination ?

Mr. Fisher : Not so far as I am aware of.

Mr. Adderson asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that the German Government, whilst extensively circulating amongst their troops and their people complacent official literature dealing with the War and War aims suppress or subject to severe censorship all leaflets and pamphlets of an independent character bearing on the same question ; and whether he can take steps, with the help of the War Aims Committee, to place before the British people this example of the effects upon liberty of opinion of Prussian militarism ?

The under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord R. Cecil) ; I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of the facts stated in the first part of the question. The second part is not a matter which concerns the Foreign Office.

General Croft. Is the Noble Lord aware of the fact that pacifist utterances in this country are very freely circulated in Germany in order to encourage the troops ?

Lord Cecil : Yes, Sir ; that is so.

DEFENCE OF THE REALM REGULATIONS. YOUNG INDIA.

Com. Wedgwood asked the Home Secretary if he can state how many copies of "Young India," by Lajpat Rai, were seized in the recent raids ; and whether other owners of the work may expect the attention of the police ?

Sir G. Cave : Six bound copies of this book and a number of unbound sheets were seized. Any copy of this book is liable to be seized under Regulation 51, but it is not proposed to take action with regard to copies that may be in the possession of innocent holders.

Com. Wedgwood asked the Home Secretary whether his advisers have yet come to any decision as to the prosecution of the publishers of "Young India" ; and has the India Office been consulted in the matter ?

Sir G. Cave : No criminal proceedings are at present contemplated. The India office has been consulted in the matter.

The remaining Orders were read and postponed.

on sand. India is an absolutely illiterate country. Over 90 per cent. of the people can neither read nor write.

Indian Universities.

India possesses magnificent universities, which turn out graduates by the thousands yearly. Take the University of Calcutta where abuse became so great that it was made the subject of a special inquiry. What does that University do for India? It does nothing but turn out by the thousands annually persons who have been drawn off from the real interests of India and turned adrift to find a living in other directions.

I asked an Indian who was giving evidence in Calcutta what became of the graduates of that University. His answer was a striking answer coming from such a source. He said, "A very few of them become pleaders, the great majority of them become clerks; and those who have not the ability or opportunity to become clerks become sedition mongers." That was the considered opinion of a practical industrial Indian of one of the universities of his own country. That problem is not insoluble. I can give an instance of another side of the picture, which I should like to put before the President of the Board of Education in this country.

If you go to certain mills in Madras, there you will see elaborate, comfortable, delightful, buildings put up for school purposes. Residing in these buildings are two English ladies. The buildings are used for housing classes formed of the children of the people who work in the mills. There is no compulsion. The schools are always full. The children are absolutely free to attend or not to attend. Around the schools are gardens. Every child—the scholars are numbered by hundreds—has his plot of land which he cultivates as he desires, and he takes the product of his cultivation home to his own people.

For brightness, alertness, respectableness and cleanliness these Indian children would compare with the children of similar age in any school you like to name in this country. Yet these very mills were chosen by the political dissentients to foment strike and trouble. That was not because there was any real grievance. The reason for it was that they could not stand such an object lesson of what British people have done for Indians to be always before the eyes of their people.

I am well aware that after the announcement of 10th August, 1917, there can be no question of turning back from the policy which was then declared. It must go forward on lines which the Government, after the fullest consideration, determined to be the best. But I beg the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take into

consideration that it is more important to feed the hungry than to give them political rights, that it is more important to clothe the naked than to invest them with political doctrines and dogmas, and that it is more important to educate the people to be able to vote than it is to give them the vote.

What will be the effect of the franchise? It is estimated that the number enfranchised will be anything from 1 or 2 up to 5 per cent. The greater part of that number will be illiterate people. I presume the voters will be taken blindfold to the ballot boxes or that, as an alternative, the ballot boxes must be embellished in some way to show what they contain or are intended to contain. I presume that one box will be embellished with the Union Jack, another with the Crescent, and another with the emblems which are familiar at every roadside shrine in India.

I rejoice in what the right hon. Gentleman says of the recommendations of this Industrial Commission, which have solely for their object the improvement of industrial conditions of India, and to make India more profitable and more fit for the Indians themselves to enjoy living there, which I trust that no political considerations will be allowed to cloud.

Colonel Wedgwood began by saying that he was "shocked to find that" Dr. Hopkinson "is such a gross materialist". Freedom and not the improvement of industrial conditions were "the ultimate object of British rule in India". How came it that the bulk of the Indian revenue was to be eaten up by the military, police, and railway programme in India, whereas education and irrigation were to be starved? Why was it that the Government of India were going to spend £23 million out of £24 million on "the purchase of railway material in Great Britain at a time when railway material is extremely expensive, at a time when it is possible to buy up our scrapped railways from France and other theatres of War at a price that would be extremely remunerative to the British Government"? He contended that the "whole of the budget bears witness to the fact that it is one passed by Englishmen in India, and not one to which Indian people would agree," and that it "must give rise to the feeling that, in spite of all our brave words, the government of that country is directed rather towards the interests of this Island than to the interests of the country where the money is raised by people who have worked hard to find it".

The proposals for constitutional reform are defective because they conceded very little power over the purse to Indians, and did not transfer the police and other vital subjects to Indians. He considered that the Southborough Reports really whittled away the Montagu

Chelmsford Report. In recommending the enfranchisement of but 5 million men, on a property basis which was high for India, Lord Southborough left the lower middle classes in the cold, and whereas a considerable percentage of the electors would be illiterate, millions upon millions of literate Indians would be left voteless. He denounced the privileged position that had been assigned to the plutocrats, and to Europeans, Eurasians, and native Christians. The vote that was being given to "every pensioned officer and non-commissioned officer" would "establish a sort of permanent Varangian guard to see that the electorate shall never possibly be wrong". He particularly disliked the system of indirect representation recommended by Lord Southborough, and warned the Secretary of State against permitting the bureaucracy "to form a union with reactionary native elements in India that develop schemes which Indians may accept, but which in the long run will be bad for India".

Colonel Wedgwood's statement that the Rowlatt Act had been passed although the elected representatives of the Indian people "voted against it to a man," appealed to the House. The legislation was directed against men who were considered inconvenient—men like Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Outhwaite, he himself, who some persons regard as "dangerous to society," but who really are "the salt of the earth".

If the British Government did more justice in India and followed less the behests of expediency "it would do good to the British name in future, and in the long run it would lead to happier relations between this country and India". He protested not merely against the Rowlatt Bills, but declared that "the Government must understand that the repression of these riots by means of bombs from aeroplane and machine guns have produced an even worse effect than the original passage of the Rowlatt Act". Sir Michael O' Dwyer had found the Panjab calm when he went there six years ago, and was bequeathing "to his successor a revolutionary spirit which runs from one end to the other". He told the House "that there should be an enquiry into not only the murders of English people," but also into those administrative acts—the "use of aeroplane bombs" the "arrest of men like Gandhi," and the "employment of the *agent provocateur* by the police force". He asked the House not to forget that the Indian National Congress did not wish permanent officials to be installed as Governors. What one "particular bureaucrat" had done to embitter "the relations between two great peoples" showed how very necessary it was to concede the Indian demand.

Mr. Bennett (Sevenoaks, C. U.) remarked that good effects would be produced in India by the introduction of the Indian Budget at this early date and by the determination expressed by the Sec-

COMMANDER WEDGWOOD'S SPEECH IN THE.

H. of Coms.—December 5, 1917.

I explained before that there is no objection, from my own point of view, to this book circulating in any country in the world, but seeing that it was limited to an edition of 1,000 copies, circulated only to Members of this House, and to Members of the House of Lords, I think the seizure by the Home Office was an act of pure obscurantism and of the most lamentable un wisdom—Prussianism. Here is a book which puts before the responsible public of this country the Indian point of view so far as the British Government of India is concerned. Surely we realise that before any assembly is capable of judging such matters as the government of India it ought to have both sides put before it. We are capable of judging whether or not the book trenches on dangerous ground. It is bad enough for the Home Office to try to decide what the people shall read, but when it comes to trying to decide what Members of this House shall read it is going beyond the limits set by any previous Government in this country. Listen for one moment to what the "New Statesman" says of this particular volume. They say,

This is emphatically a book to be read by the Secretary of State for India himself as well as by members of the Council and the clerk's in the India Office. It ought to be pondered over by every Indian civilian."

That is exactly the conclusion I came to after having read the book carefully; that it ought to be in the hands of every man who goes out to help govern India. They should see the other side, in order to be capable of assisting the administration. By shutting your eyes to the native point of view, by accepting the doctrine of Rudyard Kipling, you enormously handicap the administration of the country. I have been told that by writing a preface to this book I have been responsible for encouraging sedition and assassination.

Sir G. Cave. No!

Com. Wedgwood : I am quoting.

Sir G. Cave : Not quoting but misrepresenting.

Com. Wedgwood : I have been told that I was responsible for a book which recommended assassination and sedition. The Home Secretary has been good enough to send me a list of passages which he regards as recommending assassination. Unfortunately, his Office has been careful to send me, not passages but a series of pages—sometimes ten at a stretch—which he regards in that light. It is impossible for me looking through these pages, to define exactly what he means by encouraging sedition and ass-

assassination. I want the House to understand the nature of this book. It is a passionate plea for self-government in India. Is there any Member of this House who is capable of writing a passionate plea for the independence or autonomy of any country in Europe who would not make out as strong as possible a case against the existing administration: You cannot agitate without painting in the blackest permissible colours the existing administration, and Lajpat Rai who is incapable of advocating assassination, has undoubtedly painted in such colours the whole administration of India by the British.

One passage to which the Home Secretary calls my attention described the method by which the British Administration was spread throughout India in the eighteenth century but that passage was simply milk and water compared with passages which might be quoted from Edmund Burke dealing with exactly the same period: The next passage to which the right hon. Gentleman calls my attention is the description by a modern Indian of the six Repressive Acts passed in 1909. I myself in this House, and with the sympathy of this House, denounced them and I can honestly say that the description by Lajpat Rai of these six Acts by no means exceeds the justifiable criticism which any Liberal might pass on those Acts. Listen to what he says in the passage described by the Home Office as being tendencious in the worst degree:

"The penal code has been amended to make the definition of sedition more comprehensive. The criminal procedure code has been amended to facilitate conviction and to accelerate trials. The Seditious Meetings Act has been enacted to make open propaganda impossible. The Press Law has been passed to muzzle the press-Spies and detectives have been employed out of number."

Hon. Members who have read the memoirs of Lord Morley could quote from those memoirs statements about suppression of the freedom of the Press, equally violent and equally tendencious. Surely it is monstrous to say that a passage such as that, a mere statement of fact from the liberal point of view, about suppression of the freedom of association and freedom of the Press, should be condemned in this House, without any opportunity for defence in a Court of law, by the Home Secretary.

The gravamen of the charge against this book is that in the last half it proceeds to describe sketchily, photographically almost the various grades of Indian reformers and Nationalists. It takes those who believe in revolution—who do not advocate assassination but revolution; then it refers to such men as Arabinda Ghose and Savarkar, men in whom politics are blended with a kind of religious

fanaticism: then it deals with the terrorists, who believe in the bomb and the daggers; then with the Constructional Nationalists of whom Lajpat Rai is one; then with the Congress Party, the reformists of the Gokhale kind. It deals with them and puts before the people of this country the different classes of Indian reformers, with the ideals they have and the methods they employ. If you are once to pronounce that it is not permissible to state in print in this country the facts about the various parties in India, or in any other part of the globe, you are obstructing the best opportunities we can possibly have of governing India not only in the interest of Indians, but of the British Empire itself. I wish to illustrate in one word what Mr. Gokhale himself said about Mr. Lajpat Rai, because, to my mind Lajpat Rai is an enormous asset to this Empire and ought rather to be encouraged than to be reprobated as an encourager of assassination. This is what Mr. Gokhale said in a speech delivered in the Council of the Governor General after his Lajpat Rai's deportation.

"Lajpat Rai was a religious, social and educational reformer who was loved and respected by large classes of his countrymen all over the country."

It is the misfortune of all great reformers and all agitators—such as I myself am—to be reprobated and denounced by those in authority; but at least we might ask authority to use language which is in some measure governed by the responsibility of their position, and at the same time by the moral character of those who advocate more extreme doctrine than the Government of the day is willing to recognise.

Home Office Denounced.

I do not mind in the least about accusations against myself in this matter. The House knows me better, and is quite capable of assessing at its true value any charge against myself. What I am here to denounce and deplore is the attitude, of the Home Office, and I suppose the attitude, one might say, of the India Office, as it is bereft of the Secretary of State for India—the attitude of these two Government Departments, on which so much depends, towards a legitimate movement for self-government in India.

I think it is unnecessary for me to say anything about the constitutional question in India. Everyone here knows that India itself is in an extremely touchy state at the present moment. You have a raid like this carried out by the Home Office with the consent of the India Office, but in the absence of the chief of the India

Office. You have this carried out regardless of the effect that it will have on public opinion in India. I say that it is a lamentable thing to be done irresponsibly by the Government of the day, which does not really recognise its responsibility towards India at present. Anyone who has any connection with India knows that it is of the greatest importance at the present time that the mission of the Secretary of State for India should meet with the warmest and most accommodating reception not only from the Indian people, but from the Anglo-Indians of India as well. We have here this irresponsible Government throwing into the midst of this amicable association in India this stupid bombshell of the arrest and seizure of a book which was only circulated to members of the Legislature of this country. Beyond the Indian question altogether surely we have here an illustration of the employment of the Defence of the Realm Act which is utterly unjustifiable at the present time. The Defence of the Realm Act is meant not to have any influence whatever upon the future government of our great Indian Empire. It is meant to have influence on the conduct of the War itself. How does the seizure of a book dealing with the future Government of India affect the conduct of a war in this country? This book does not get to India. There is no fear of that. No Sir. This is a case where the authority, having got a brief control of the police of this country, so far as it affects opinion in this country, has used that authority madly in order to put down anything of which the holders of that authority for the moment disapprove.

Anti-Jacobin Legislation.

It is impossible to conceive that if we had a Liberal Home Secretary that we should have had this book seized under the Defence of the Realm Act. It is impossible to conceive that if we had a Liberal Home Secretary we should have had the Defence of the Realm Act extended so as to deal with a purely Indian question which has no effect whatever upon Germany or the War at all except in so far as it is an example of Prussianism in our midst in this country. The book in question may be an example of all that the Home Secretary said. It may be that the book is a pernicious book but every one here who has had any education in British history and in British traditions knows that to strangle a book because some people in authority think it is bad is neither good politics nor good ethics. The advertisement which this book has got from this prosecution is far greater than it would get from any number of reviews at the illimitable expenditure of somebody's money. I believe this book was published at the expense of Lady Delaware. She was

not prosecuted, no-body will be prosecuted. But it is not merely that this prosecution involves an advertisement for a book which the Home Office believed to be seditious but that this prosecution is a return to the days of the anti-Jacobin legislation of this country. It is a return to the days of Lord Eldon and Lord Erskine.

GERMAN MENACE AND THE ROUTE TO INDIA.

The following are extracts from two very remarkable speeches of Mr. Mc Callum Scott in the House of Commons delivered in March, 1918, when the Russian Revolution and the Vote of Credit were discussed. They throw considerable light on the reasons which led to the Imperial War Conference at Delhi held on the 27th April, 1918, in which the Viceroy read messages from the King Emperor and the Prime Minister to India calling forth help against the grave situation of the Empire and the imminent menace to India.

We were suffering severely from the evils of our centralisation, and the movement for decentralisation was coming here and coming strongly, though gradually. In Russia it has come like a flood, a deluge; it has shown us what disasters may occur when reforms are delayed. It is part of the genius of the people of this country that they know how to take occasion by the hand, and make the bonds of freedom wider still. It would be well to recognise that the great movement which has started in Russia is something cognate to the highest objects we have in the War and also to the essential reforms which are due in this country, reforms that would bring under the direct control of the people those matters which affect their daily and domestic life. I have been led to develop this aspect of the subject rather more fully than I had intended. My first reason for objection to Japanese intervention is that it will lead us into dangers with which we are not confronted at present. My second reason is that it will not meet the danger actually threatened in the East. The Hon. member referred to Vladivostock. I wish Vladivostock were the only danger with which we are threatened in the East. As to the stores and munitions accumulated there, that is a small matter relatively to the grave dangers that face us. Even if we lost the munitions, even if they were put on the railways and transported straight to Germany we would know exactly what we had to face. But that is insignificant in comparison with the great danger with which our whole campaign and our whole strategy are threatened in the East. The question

of these stores and supplies could easily be solved by landing a few battalions and providing shipping for their transport ; they could easily be brought away. But that has nothing to do with Japanese intervention on a large scale in Siberia. The real danger threatens not Siberia at all ; it lies in the fact that the Germans are on the North West Frontiers of India and the frontiers of Afghanistan and Persia. The real danger lies in the fact that the Germans have got two railway lines in direct contact with these frontiers—the Trans-Caucasus Railway and the Trans-Caspian Railway. We know that in the past our statesmen and our soldiers have had many anxious moments on account of German intrigue and German menace on the North West Frontier of India. That menace has now matured in an urgent form. But a Japanese occupation of Siberia would not help us in the slightest in regard to it ; even though they advanced as far as the Urals it would not affect either of these two railways.

I do not want to pose as a strategist. I believe there are two schools with regard to the nature of this War : the Western school and the Eastern School. Personally, I have always belonged to the Eastern school ; I have regarded the War as an Eastern War, not merely because there we can make the most effective attack on German ambitions and cut Germany off from her objects but because in the East is our Achilles heel. The Eastern Front is the British Front not the western. I do not believe that this War can be ended on the Western Front. I do not believe any blow can be struck by either party which will determine it. Germany holds that front strongly in well-fortified and very short lines compared with the lines she has hitherto held, and at the present time she is able to take over new territories unchecked by anything we can do on the Western Front. Unless we are prepared to deliver a blow that will force her hand, unless we are prepared to do that and force her from sheer necessity to withdraw large numbers of troops from the Western Front and send them Eastwards to save her Empire, we shall not determine the War. An Hon. member asked me where that blow should be struck, and, although I do not pose as a strategist, I have no objection in telling him where, if I were Commander-in-Chief, or Prime Minister or if I had the power, I would act. I would send the troops to Mesopotamia and the North-West Frontier of India. I believe it is on those fronts that the Empire can be saved. It is no use saying it is difficult, and that there are transport difficulties. The question is, is it necessary and are we threatened there in a vital manner ? If we are, then we should send the troops there.

We have heard much talk about an alternate Government and the difficulty of finding one. I do not believe there would be any difficulty. You could constitute twenty or thirty alternative Governments out of this House, Nothing would be easier. What is wanted is an alternative policy and, I am sorry to say I do not see any sign of such a thing on the part of any alternative Government. It has been freely rumoured for long that the Prime Minister holds the Eastern view, that he regards the Eastern Front as our vital front, and that he has been in favour of making far larger efforts in the East. That has been stated time and again, and never, so far as I know, has it been contradicted. The Noble Lord, the Minister for Blockade, believe this is the vital front where a knock-out blow could be delivered, then he ought not to remain in his present positions if he cannot succeed in inducing the Government also to take that view. I hold this view so strongly that, if I could see any alternative Government prepared to pursue it, I would be willing to give it my support.

"THE ROUTE TO INDIA."

Towards the end of 1915, after Serbia had been crushed, there appeared in the "Daily Mail" a map, which was entitled "**The Route to India,**" and which excited a great deal of attention. I am not accustomed to taking political guidance from the columns of the "Daily Mail," but I thought this map was an important document. It showed the connection of Berlin and Vienna with the Baghdad railway and the Persian Gulf. It showed that the narrow corridor between Germany and Asia Minor, through the Balkans and through Constantinople, which had hitherto been blocked by a hostile Serbia and a neutral Bulgaria, had been burst through, that the area was clear, that Germany was in direct communication with Bagdad, and that the war was open to her, in her drive towards the Persian Gulf, towards Persia and towards Afghanistan. Of course nobody is ignorant of the geography of the situation, but this map did really show the route, and figuratively and picturesquely it showed the German purpose. It was my opinion then, and it is still my opinion, that this map was one of the most valuable documents published since the War began. It incurred very grave censure at the time from the Front Bench. It was referred to almost as a treasonable document, as a dangerous document, which might stir up alarm amongst the people, which would give comfort and consolation to the King's enemies, and which would be an occasion for jubilant propaganda by them. I

wish it had stirred up more alarm. The real cause for alarm lay not in the map itself ; but in the facts of the situation which it revealed in the German purpose in the route that lay open to Germany to achieve her purpose, and on the nakedness and defenceless state of the Empire, as we then stood against that menace. Unfortunately, it caused very little alarm save on the Front Bench. They were alarmed lest the people should be alarmed. I doubt very much whether the "Daily Mail" was alarmed. I think probably it was only a piece of topical sensationalism which they forgot about the next day. If the "Daily Mail" had only pursued this subject it might have achieved useful results in awakening public opinion in this country to the real nature of the danger to which the Empire was exposed in the East. If there had been that stirring of public opinion whether it was wise or foolish, they would have been moved to give further consideration to this aspect of the world War than they have done in the past.

THE THREE PHASES.

This menace, dimly apprehended by the people, divined only by a few of our statesmen and soldiers, has been inherent in the situation from the very beginning of the War, and since the beginning of the War it has passed through, three phases. Three phases really sum up the War in the East. There was, first of all, the Balkan Baghdad phase, then there was the Persian phase ; and then the Russian phase. The possibilities and the danger of a German drive through the Balkans towards Baghdad and the Persian Gulf were realised by few of our statesmen ; and it was to meet this menace that the Dardanelles Expedition was first planned. That was an attempt to defeat that menace by cutting through the narrow neck of the German enterprise, but cutting through the corridor, at its narrowest. That attempt failed. It failed for the simple reason that the Western view prevailed. It was held that the first call upon all our resources in men and material must be for the purpose of maintaining a great attempt to break through on the West ; and that only after the predominant claim of the offensive campaign on the West had been met would such forces as could be spared be available for the East. Accordingly, the attempt in the East was made with inadequate forces and failed. For the same reason the proposals which were made, and made with the same object, to go to the aid of Serbia, in the early days of the War, or to effect a landing at Alexandretta and cut through the Baghdad railway at another portion, failed to materialise because the Western view prevailed. And for the same reason also the

expedition to Salonika has been neutralised and stultified ; and with the crushing of Serbia and the withdrawal of our forces from Gallipoli the triumph of Germany in this phase of the Eastern menace was complete.

Sir J. D. Rees :—In order to follow the argument of the Hon. Gentleman, will he say what he means by cutting the Baghdad railway at Alexandretta, which is some hundred miles from it ?

Mr. Scott :—What does one mean by attacking the Germans in France ? You must begin somewhere. There was no object in landing at Alexandria unless it was to advance and attempt to cut the Baghdad railway. The next phase of the Eastern menace is what I think may be called the Persian phase. After Germany had succeeded in bursting through the barrier of the Balkans and maintaining unfettered communication with Baghdad, then we had to do something at the other end of the road. It was then that the first advance towards Baghdad was commenced and the expedition was sent forward and pressed without adequate preparations so that it ended disastrously at Kut. At that time the Russians had failed to advance from the Caucasus through Armenia, our own expedition had capitulated at Kut ; and Caucasus and the lower waters of the Euphrates fell into their hand, and through that gap there was unfettered communication between Germany and Turkey and Persia. Through that gap German agents, German arms, material, and German propaganda were constantly pouring. German influence penetrated and permeated Persia. It reached Afghanistan and the frontiers of India.

THE THIRD PHASE OF THE DANGER.

Here I may be thought to be treading on delicate ground, but I have nothing to say on this subject except what has already been said in another place by present Ministers and late Ministers. I have here one or two extracts from the Debates in another place which show to what extent this danger had gone, and to what extent it was reaching India. On the 20th February 1917, there was a Debate in the House of Lords, inaugurated, I think, by Lord Bryce on the subject of Sir Percy Sykes's expedition to Persia. Lord Curzon said :—

“At one time there were quite 100 of these German Agents, good fellows of the baser sort, scattered about in different parts of Persia, terrorising the peaceful tribes, and offering bribes to their chieftains. They further succeeded in attracting to their side a number of secessionists from India..... They carried their operations as far East as Persian Beluchistan, in the neighbourhood of the British Indian border and they even penetrated in small well-organised

groups, into Afganistan, where they were heard of at Herat and at Kabul where a German deputation was kept for some months in the hope of seducing the Amir of that country from his loyalty to ourselves."

On the 12th July last year there was a further Debate in the House of Lords, with special reference to the Report of the Royal Commission on the Mesopotamia expedition. The Marquis of Lansdowne said :—

"Persia was passing more and more rapidly under German influence. The attitude of the Amir, which in the end proved so satisfactory was at the time doubtful, and it is very hard indeed to say whether Lord Hardinge would have been able to give your Lordship the satisfactory account which he gave the other evening of the temper of the Indian people, if we had shown at the very outset that we had not sufficient courage to strike a blow where a blow was likely to be most effectual."

In the course of the same debate the Marquis of Crewe, who was justifying the attempt to advance on Bagdad, which ended disastrously, made these observations :—

"At that time the Russians had not advanced in Asia, nor had they proved that they could advance. There was nothing apparently to prevent the Turks from directing a force on Kermanshah and obtaining control in Persia. If Persia had gone Afghanistan might have followed suit. The Amir has shown the most signal loyalty to his engagements and a wise understanding of the situation. But he might easily have been swept off his feet, and it is impossible to say what a blaze might have been created. At Bagdad a force would have been on the flank of any such advance by the Turks into Persia which supplies a further reason for making the advance."

That was the form which the Eastern menace had taken at that time, the same menace that has existed from the 'beginning—German penetration of Persia and through Persia to Afghanistan and the agitations on the Indian Frontier. The menace of a rising of the wild tribes on the Northern Frontier has always been the nightmare of Indian statesmen. We have prevented it in the past on any very large scale by preventing arms and munitions reaching those tribes. We have kept them disarmed by means of the patrol which we have exercised in the Persian Gulf and adjacent quarters to prevent gun running. That patrol was useless at this phase of the War; and there was a constant stream of weapons, machine guns and rifles, and of skilled German agents, penetrating through Persia up to Afghanistan and the north-west frontier. It was to meet this menace that the second expedition was sent forward on a larger scale and pressed forward to Bagdad and beyond, in fact almost until it joined hands with the Russians who had advanced through the Caucasus and through Armenia. The gap was closed, and there, for the time being, was the end of that particular phase of the

menace. The misfortune was that we treated it merely as a local danger, as a temporary threat, and we were content with stop-gap measures. The third phase of this danger has come with the collapse of Russia, and it is by far the most dangerous menace.

ROADS THROUGH WHICH GERMANS MIGHT PENETRATE.

The roads through which the Germans might penetrate through Persia to the north-west were wild tracks. There were no bridges and no railways, but a long and arduous and dangerous journey. But through Russia they are now in direct railway communication with the frontier and Afghanistan. There are two railway lines, either of which they might use. There is the Trans-caspian railway and another railway line. Any one who knows the country will know how dangerous they are. They are military railways, designed for technical purposes. The Transcaspian Railway runs from Krasnovodsk, on the eastern shores of the Caspian, skirting the northern frontier of Afghanistan.

Sir J. D. Rees. A desert.

Mr. Scott: Yes, but a railway. It is all very well to say, "a desert," but a railway bridges a desert. The port of Karsnovodsk is directly opposite the port of Baku, which is the terminus of the Caucasus Railway. It is in direct communication with Batum, and the whole journey from Berlin is direct by railway to the port of Batum. There is only steamer transport across Caspian, and then you have railway communication direct to the Afghanistan frontier. Do you think the Germans are going to remain oblivious to the possibilities of that railway communication? Why, only in Wednesday's papers we can see what it means. I find in the "Times" this morning a message from the Berlin semi-official agency referring to what is called the economical-political appendix to the treaty just concluded between Russia and Germany. There it is stated that by the establishment of free transit direct commercial communication is secured via Russia with Persia and Afghanistan which was hitherto barred. But that railway communication is not all. On the South something has happened also. The Russian forces, cut off from all supplies, cut off from all external aid, have not been able to hold their own in Armenia and the Caucasus. They have fallen back. The gap is still open. Northern Persia is unmasked; and through that gap once more rifles, machine guns, supplies and German propaganda are permeating Northern Persia. Along the whole Southern frontier, along the Western frontier, they

have practically encircled Afghanistan. They have proved themselves most loyal in the past. I believe they are still, and I believe they will remain so. But it is easy to see that their hands may be forced. The rule of the Government of Afghanistan over the wilder tribes is a shadowy and a vague rule. If these tribes are armed with weapons of precision and they are subject to the incitement of German agents, there is no saying what may happen. The Afghan Government may be overthrown. Why not take it into consideration? It has been suggested in the House of Lords by His Majesty's Ministers; and if it is suggested there why not suggest it here, and ask for adequate consideration?

Frontier rising in India.

Do they realise that we are now faced with the imminent possibility of a frontier rising in India on an unprecedented scale?

Sir J. D. Rees: There is no sign of it.

Mr. Scott: There have been many signs of it, and I can quote statements from His Majesty's ministers to justify it. I want to know whether the Government are alive to that danger. I do not ask what measures they are taking to provide against it. It would not be proper for them to disclose in this House what are the measures whereby they propose to meet it. I believe adequate measures can be taken. If it were not that I thought it would be an improper aspect of the subject to discuss in this House I would suggest now the measures which I think ought to be taken, can be taken, and which would provide against the materialising of the danger.

The last point which I wish to make is this; that this Eastern menace is the greatest danger to which we are exposed in this War. It is the vulnerable flank of the British Empire. There is a great difference between the two; and I believe it is that margin which will meet the situation in the East. I have no expectation of a breakthrough ever being achieved on the West. The forcing of trench after trench, mile after mile one behind the other, there is no chance of a break through; but on the East there is a danger that while we are lavishing our strength on the fruitless effort to achieve an impossible task we may ourselves be exposed to a blow which will be fatal to our continuance in this War.

THE SUBRAMANIA LETTER.

House of Commons—3 June '18

Mr. Joynson-Hicks asked the Sec. of state (1) whether his attention has been called to the letter of Sir Subramaniya Aiyer to President Wilson; whether this letter was grossly defamatory of British rule in India; whether any action been taken against him under the Defence of India act; (2) whether he was among those making representations to him (Montagu) during his recent visit.

General Croft asked a similar question and also enquired if the gentleman (Sir S. Aiyer) has fallen under the influence of Mrs. Besant; and what action is proposed to be taken with a view to putting an end to such propaganda?

Mr. Montagu—The disgraceful letter is correctly described. Its impropriety is all the more inexcusable because of the position of the writer. But the assertions in the letter are too wild and baseless to receive notice from any responsible authority. No action has as yet been taken but I am in communication with the Viceroy.

Sir. J. D. Rees—Is the right hon. gentleman aware that this member of a short-lived race is already upwards seventy-seven years old, and that this is a senile production?

Debate in the Lords.

In the House of Lords, on the 18th June, Lord Harris was :—
To ask His Majesty's Government whether their attention has been called to a letter alleged to have been addressed by Sir S. Subramaniya Aiyer, K.C.I.E., late Acting Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, to President Wilson attributing to the British Government in India misrule, oppression, the grant of exorbitant salaries, the refusal of education, the sapping of the wealth of India, the imposition of crushing taxation, the imprisonment of thousands of people, and the deaths of civilian prisoners from loathsome diseases; and if so, whether they propose to take any steps in condemnation of the same; and if they have not had their attention called to it, whether they will make enquiries.

Lord Harris said :—My Lords, my question has been deferred, at the suggestion of my noble friend Lord Curzon for, so long that answers have been given in another place (H. of Commons) which practically dispose of any obscurity there may be in it; but I shall take the liberty, thanks to the elasticity which is accorded to questions in this House, of offering a few remarks upon the reply of the Secretary of State.

The Secretary of State has stigmatised this letter as "disgraceful and improper," but notwithstanding that the Government of India has decided to take no further notice of it than the reproof which had been described by the Secretary of State—namely that "they ex-

press their surprise and regret at the letter"; yet, "in view of Sir S. Subramaniya Aiyar's age, health, and past services, they do not propose to take any further action, but warn him not to do it again." In the meantime the Secretary of State does not propose to interfere with the discretion of the Government of India. I take leave to deprecate that inaction. This person is an ex-judge of the High Court of Madras. He is a pensioner, and it seems rather odd that he should, in his letter, take exception to exorbitant salaries and large allowances when he is drawing a very handsome pension, towards which, I imagine he has not contributed as an Indian Civil Servant would have contributed.

I should like to call your Lordships' attention to a comment in the "Madras Mail."

"We merely wish to draw attention to the existence of the Defence of India Act, which makes it criminal to spread false reports or report likely to cause disaffection or alarm, or to prejudice His Majesty's relations with Foreign Powers or to promote feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects."

The ex-Judge of the High Court of Madras who ought to be learned in the law has disregarded the law according to the opinion of the "Madras Mail" and, at any rate, in the opinion of the Secretary of State, has behaved "disgracefully and improperly." As I have said he is a pensioner, but the Government of India do not propose to take any further action than this mild reproof; therefore the Indian tax payer is to continue to contribute to a person what is probably handsome. Now, I have known of a case—and I dare say the noble Earl has known of others—where an Indian Civil Servant, who during a very long service had been contributing to the pension he was to receive; has been mulcted of a portion of his pension because he had, in the opinion of the Government of India, behaved improperly. That is the penalty which is meted out to an Englishman if he misbehaves in India. But apparently the Government of India do not think it necessary to penalise an Indian who, although he is a lawyer, ignores the law, and behaves "disgracefully and improperly."

I deprecate this inaction because I am certain that it will be a discouragement to the loyal and law-abiding subjects of His Majesty in India, and I have very little doubt that those who follow and support Mrs. Besant, and others who entertain opinions similar to hers, will claim this reply of the Secretary of State as a triumph for their policy. The British Raj may be vilified and the law may be disregarded by a lawyer, and the only action that is taken by the Government of India

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is something like what one would say to a little child—namely, *that* he is a naughty old man and is not to do it again. So much for the Government of India and its inaction.

But the Viceroy exercises other authorities than those in participation with his colleagues. He is Grand Master of the Indian Empire, and this individual is a Knight Commander of the most eminent Order of the Indian Empire; and if the Viceroy contemplates giving some condonation to him, what it amounts to is this, that in his opinion the Knights of the Order ought to be prepared for all time to accept this individual—who has, as the Secretary of the State says, behaved disgracefully—to accept him during his life as a comrade and brother of the order. If this man has behaved disgracefully he has certainly disgraced his knighthood, and if the Viceroy contemplates taking no action in the matter—not submitting any proposals to the Sovereign—all I can say is that I should imagine that there are other members of the Order besides myself who resent that we should be compelled to accept the comradeship of a man who has been breaking the law in the way I have described, and who has acted disgracefully. As my noble friend knows quite well, and a great deal better than I do, if this man disobeyed any of the rule of his caste—I do not know what his caste is—certainly if it is an honourable caste—he would be compelled to do some penance. The man has offended, according to the Secretary of State, against the honourable and chivalrous rules of his Order—in other words, of his caste—and I hope sincerely that the Viceroy may regard it as a duty to his Sovereign and to his Order to take some notice of it.

Viscount Haldane—My Lords, before the noble Earl answers, there are one or two observations which I should like to make. My noble friend opposite has proposed, in the case of Sir Subramania Aiyar, that his pension should be taken away or reduced, and that his name should be removed from the Order of K. C. I. E. to which he belongs. Now, there is no doubt that the letter in question was a very foolish and very improper one, and it has been stigmatised as such in unmistakable terms by the Secretary of State. No doubt it was very wrong to write such a letter as that to the head of a foreign State. On the other hand, these things are done in politics all over the world and I am not sure that things of the same kind have not been done in this country. Among ourselves they have certainly been done, and done with perfect freedom with no penal clause, however strong may be the stigma of public opinion attaching to them.

What is the situation? The situation is that the Government, on the 20th August last, announced a policy. The Government which the noble Earl opposite represents here announced a policy of the extension freely and progressively of responsible Government in India.....It is desirable while this is under discussion, as it is likely to be for some time to come, that as far as possible bitterness and action which can provoke violent reaction should be abolished. The learned Judge whose name is associated with what has been done is a very well known man in India. He is a retired Acting Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, and has to my knowledge rendered very distinguished services on the Bench. As to his pension, that perhaps he regards as part of the contract into which he entered when he undertook to serve the Government of Madras as a judge.

Lord Haris—What about good behaviour?

Viscount Haldane.—Every Judge is appointed on those terms, but you cannot remove him except for grave misconduct—for what is, in effect, a breach of some very binding public rule. A retired Judge has perfect freedom to take part in politics—if he expresses himself decently if you like—and you would take away his pension only for gravest matters coming within the Criminal Law. To remove him from the order to which he belongs is again to make a declaration of war which I think is at this moment highly inexpedient in India. To my mind the most material circumstance of all is that the Viceroy advised the Government not to take any action, and in those circumstances I should be very sorry if the Government were to depart in any way from the line taken by their representatives in the other House of Parliament. However reprehensible it is, and however bad, violent action is not calculated to make things any better but probably a good deal worse.

The Lord President of the Council (**Earl Curzon** of Kedleston):—My Lords in the regrettable absence of the Under-Secretary of State for India I will reply on behalf of the India Office to my noble friend, and I think I shall be able, in what I have to say, to throw some further light upon the incident to which he has referred. The worst parts of the language of the retired Judge are contained in the quotation which appears in the Question as put upon the Paper by my noble friend. As regards the language all of your Lordships will agree that it is, to use the adjectives which my noble friend quoted from the Secretary of State, disgraceful and improper in the extreme. I think that the noble and learned Viscount opposite did not by any means err on the side of severity in the

manner in which he spoke of that language. I think, indeed, he might have spoken rather more strongly than he did. These statements undoubtedly contain a series of outrageous calumnies against the British Government in India—calumnies which would be culpable if they emanated from a person of the age, experience, and authority of this ex-Judge, no one can possibly be found to excuse. It is quite true, as my noble friend Lord Harris points out, that the author of these remarks was a Judge of the High Court of Madras for twelve years and ended by being Acting Chief Justice, and that he received as a recognition of this long, and up to this point meritorious career the high honour of a Knight Commandership of the Indian Empire.

Now, what are the actual facts connected with this deplorable publication? This old man—he is now in very advanced years—I think nearer eighty than seventy—retired in the year 1907. He then fell under the influence of Mrs. Besant, who is very active in her operations in the Presidency of Madras, and under that influence he became President of the Indian Home Rule League. This letter by the retired Judge, although it came to our cognisance in England only a few weeks ago, was written as far back as the 4th June 1917. I have the whole letter here, a portion of which only has appeared in the Press in this country. The first part of the letter contained a plea, couched in not improper language, for Home Rule in India; the latter part consisted of an eulogy of the services of Indian soldiers in France and other theatres of war, but in the middle part of the letter occurred the passage which appears in the question of my noble friend and which no language could be too strong, in my judgment, to condemn.

The writer of this letter which was addressed to President Wilson, entrusted it to an American Gentleman and his wife travelling in India who were known as lecturers and authors in their own country, to be handed to President Wilson on their return to the United States. It was communicated at Washington to the British Embassy, by whom it was transmitted to the Foreign Office here. It was passed on by them to the Secretary of State for India, who was as much astonished at this incident as could be any member of your Lordship's House, and who took it out with him to India. The Secretary of State, I think quite properly, did not want himself to be responsible for bringing about the publication of the letter, which had not then appeared in any form in print; still less did he want to advertise the culpable folly of its author. Accordingly when he went, in the discharge of his mission, to Madras in com-

pany with the Viceroy, they sent for the writer of the letter—this is an incident which was, of course, not known to my noble friend—and administered to him a severe reprimand. That was, I think either at the end of last year or in the early part of this year.

At a latter date—in May of the present year—the letter appeared in the Indian Press, and from there it was communicated to journals in this country. The noble Lord probably saw it, as I did for the first time in the columns of the “Times.” How it got into the Indian Press, who communicated it we do not know. There is some reason, I am told, to believe that it got in the first place into the American Press and may have been copied from there into the Press in India. Now my Lords, when we first saw the publication while there could be no two opinions as to its character the question naturally arose whether his act was to be treated with the extreme severity which no doubt the language in itself merited or whether it was to be regarded rather as a melancholy aberration on the part of an old man who had in the course of a long career rendered considerable service to the State, who is now in advanced years, in the enjoyment only of feeble health, and whose utterances on a matter of this sort, I believe are devoid of any influence and can carry no conceivable weight with any respectable class of his fellow countrymen.

This was a question which, feeling it difficult ourselves to solve without more local knowledge than we possessed, we naturally referred to the Government of India. They replied in the general terms which were quoted by my noble friend—namely, that they were addressing the Judge, through the Government of Madras, informing him that his action in writing to President Wilson in the manner he had done was regarded with regret and surprise by them, but that in view of his great age, failing health, and past judicial services they did not propose to take any further notice of his action. At the same time, the old man was warned that any repetition of such conduct could not be passed over by the Government of India. The noble Lord is dissatisfied with that notice. He thinks it was insufficient for the circumstances of the case. I believe that there were—and I think I can easily show to the House that there are good subsidiary reasons for taking the line that the Viceroy and his colleagues did.

In the first place, there was no direct evidence, as I pointed out just now, that the retired Judge was himself responsible for the publication. Again, as I have also pointed out, the letter had already been made the subject of a severe personal reprimand.

mand by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. Further, although I would not wish to lay too much stress upon this, it must be remembered that there had been an interval of nearly a year between the original writing of the letter and its publication, whether accidental or not, in India and in this country. There is another consideration which is always present in the minds of the Government when they are dealing with cases of this sort, and that is the expediency of doing anything which may convert a person relatively harmless into a political martyr, and may arouse political agitation at a time when such a thing is extremely undesirable.

The noble Lord raised the question of the pension enjoyed by this person, and of his membership of a great and distinguished Order. As regards the pension, the Statutory Rules for High Court Judges in India do not provide for the withdrawal of pension, and it was felt by the Government of India that the forfeiture of his Knight Commandership of the Indian Empire, which would furnish him with an advertisement that the Government of India were not at all anxious to give, would strike an unfortunate and discordant note in the midst of the successful and loyal war effort in which the Government of India had invited the people of that country to take part, and to which they are responding with so much alacrity and success. These were the reasons my Lords that led the Viceroy and his colleagues in India to stop short at the action which I have already described. It is regarded as adequate by the Secretary of State for India. In a matter of this sort, knowing both ends of the scale, I should be very reluctant to interfere with the discretion of the Viceroy or his colleagues and I am disposed to concur with the Secretary of State in thinking that the action which has been taken is in all circumstance of the case, sufficient and adequate.

The Marquis of Crewe :—My Lords, my noble friend Lord Harris always takes somoderate, and if he will allow me to say, so reasonable a view of Indian administration that a motion of this kind brought forward by him, must necessarily engage the attention of your Lordships' House, but I am bound to say that in this instance the answer which the noble Earl, the leader of the House, has given does satisfy the reason of those who consider the question. There can, of course, be only one opinion about the language used by this old ex-Judge whom I remember, in my time as Secretary of State for India, as having a high reputation as a member of the Madras Bench, and as being regarded as a dis-

tinguished figure, what we should call in this country a somewhat extreme politician, although not extreme in the Indian sense where the term is used somewhat differently from what it is here.

I am not quite sure that I agree with my noble and learned friend behind me that at a time when a great policy of the amendment of the Constitution is impending you ought, therefore, to pass over language or action which at any other time you might deal with severely. I confess that this particular argument never appealed to me in connection with India or with Ireland. But I do think that in dealing with utterances of this kind the one main point which the Government has to bear in mind is what the effect of the language is likely to be in view of the state of the country and of the authority of the person who uses it. In this instance having regard to all the conditions and to the fact that the old ex-judge is of an age which would be advanced here but is in India very advanced indeed, I cannot believe it can be supposed that any real encouragement is given to sedition by such language as this. It can, I think, be passed over with some thing of a shrug of regret that a public servant of some distinction, possibly with some decay of mind, has become imbued with these ideas, which, as we know, are the common place of ordinary Indian disaffection, and I think probably that the Government of India and the Secretary of State are wise to leave the matter there.

I do not believe that either by attaching part of the pension of Sir Subramania Aiyar, or by removing him from the Order any genuine purpose would be served. As the noble Earl, the Lord President of the Council, has said some people might be tempted to regard him as a martyr to liberal ideas, and I cannot think that those who belong to that Order are seriously affected by the presence of that ex-judge in their ranks. In all these circumstances I am therefore disposed to believe that the Government of India and the Secretary of State have taken the more sensible course.

THE LETTER TO PRESIDENT WILSON.

Madras, India, 24th June, 1917.

To His Excellency President Wilson.

Honored Sir: I address this letter to you as Honorary President of the Home Rule League in India, an organisation voicing the aspirations of a United India, as expressed through the Indian National Congress and the All

India Muslim League. These are the only two bodies in India to-day which truly represent the political ideals of that Nation of more than three hundred million people, because the only bodies created by the people themselves.

Over five thousand delegates of these two popular assemblies met at their annual convention in Lucknow last December, and they unanimously and jointly agreed upon identical Resolutions, asking His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer Self Government on India at an early date, to grant democratising reforms, and to lift India from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self Governing Dominions.

While these Resolutions, Honored Sir, voiced India's aspirations, they also expressed her loyalty to the Crown. But though many months have elapsed, Great Britain has not yet made any official promise to grant our country's plea. Perhaps this is because the Government is too fully occupied with the heavy responsibility of the War.

But it is the very relationship of the Indian Nationalist Movement to the War that urges the necessity for an immediate promise of Home Rule—Autonomy—for India, as it would result in an offer from India of at least five million men in three months for service at the front, and of five million more in another three months.

India can do this because she has a population of three hundred and fifteen millions—three times that of the United States and almost equal to the combined population of all the Allies. The people of India will do this, because then they would be free men and not slaves.

At present we are subject Nation, held in chains, forbidden by our alien rulers to express publicly our desire for the ideals presented in your famous War Message: "... the liberation of peoples, the rights of nations great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their ways of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty."

Even as conditions are, India has more than proved her loyalty to the Allies. She has contributed freely and generously of both blood and treasure in France, in Gallipoli, in Mesopotamia and elsewhere. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, British Secretary of State for India, said: "There are Indian troops in France to this day; their gallantry, endurance, patience and perseverance, were shown under conditions new and strange to them." Field Marshal Lord French said: "I have been much impressed by the initiative and resources displayed by the Indian troops." The London "Times" said concerning the fall of Baghdad: "It should always be remembered that a very large proportion of the force which General Maude has guided to victory are Indian regiments. The cavalry [which hung on the flanks and demoralized the Turkish army and chased it to the confines of Baghdad must have been almost exclusively Indian cavalry. The infantry which bore months of privation and proved in the end masters of the Turks, included Indian units, which had already fought heroically in France, Gallipoli and Egypt."

If Indian soldiers have achieved such splendid results for the Allies while slaves, how much greater would be their power if inspired by the sentiments

which can arise only in the souls of free men—men who are fighting not only for their own liberties but for the liberties of mankind! The truth is that they are now sacrificing their lives to maintain the supremacy of an alien Nation which uses that supremacy to dominate and rule them against their will.

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that the official Government in India utterly failed to get a response to its recent appeal to Indians to volunteer for military service. Only five hundred men came forward out of a possible thirty million.

It is our earnest hope that you may so completely convert England to your ideals of world liberation that together you will make it possible for India's millions to lend assistance in this war.

Permit me to add that you and the other leaders have been kept in ignorance of the full measure of misrule and oppression in India. Officials of an alien nation, speaking a foreign tongue, force their will upon us; they grant themselves exorbitant salaries and large allowances; they refuse us education: they sap us of our wealth; they impose crushing taxes without our consent; they cast thousands of our people into prisons for uttering patriotic sentiments, prisons so filthy that often the inmates die from loathsome diseases.

A recent instance of misrule is the imprisonment of Mrs. Annie Besant, that noble Irish woman who has done so much for India. As set forth in the accompanying statement signed by eminent legislators, editors, educators and pleaders, she had done nothing except carry on a law-abiding and constitutional propaganda of reforms; the climax being her internment, without charges and without trial, shortly after printing and circulating your War Message.

I believe His Majesty, the King, and the English Parliament are unaware of these conditions and that, if they can be informed, they will order Mrs. Besant's immediate release.

A mass of documentary evidence, entirely reliable, corroborative and explanatory of the statements in this letter, is in the hands of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hotchner, who would esteem it a privilege to place it at your disposal. I have entrusted this letter to them because it would never have been permitted to reach you by mail. They are loyal Americans, editors, authors and lecturers on educational and humanitarian subjects, who have been deeply interested in the welfare of India. They have sojourned here off and on during the last ten years, and so have been eye-witnesses to many of the conditions herein described. They have graciously consented to leave their home in India in order to convey this letter to you personally in Washington.

Honoured Sir, the aching heart of India cries out to you, whom we believe to be an instrument of God in the reconstruction of the world.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

S. Subramaniam.

Knight Commander Indian Empire, Doctor of Laws;
Honorary President of the Home Rule League in India;
Co-Founder of the National Congress of India in 1885;
Retired Judge and frequently Acting Chief Justice
of the High Court of Madras.

NOTE.

This letter profoundly convulsed America from one end to the other. It was delivered to President Wilson about Sep. '17, and he sent it at once to his Sec. of State, Mr. Lansing, with a note to look into it carefully. The next day a printed copy of the letter was placed on the desk of 533 Senators and Congressmen. A graphic account of the offer of ten million men was flashed all over the vast continent by the Press. There was a great sensation, 1500 Newspapers with their 20,000,000 readers took up the cry. England was strongly criticised. Military men were strongly impressed with the plea. American Labour at once wanted Home rule for India as in Canada and Australia, and pressure was applied on the British Govt. to consider the proposal favourably.

The immediate effect of the letter on India's Cause is not clearly known. But people in India witnessed some unwonted and phenomenal change in the '*angle of vision*' of the stolid Indian Govt: (1) the release of Annie Besant by the Imperial Govt. (2) the shame of the crest-fallen Lord Pentland's Govt. of Madras, and (3) the visit to India of the Sec. of State. In reality however there is nothing to connect these with the Letter.

Immediately after the discussion of the Letter in Parliament where the venerable Indian ex-judge and Congress-President was wantonly insulted—not on his face but behind his back, in the comfortable dovecot of a house where India is not represented—Sir Subramaniam issued the following Press communique which will be read with interest.

Subramania's letter to the Press.

Feeling that I should not allow any lapse of time to take place, I proceed at once to offer such explanation as is in my power in the present circumstances with reference to the proceedings in the House of Commons on the 3rd inst. The matter may seem personal at first sight, but in reality is one of supreme public importance. Of course I refer to the Secretary of States answer to the question by Mr. Hicks regarding my letter to President Wilson. Though there has been a great deal of discussion on the subject in the Press all over India, particularly in the Anglo-Indian journals, I have thought it my duty to refrain from saying anything myself about the said letter. Even had I adopted a different course, I could have added nothing worth the attention of my countrymen, having regard especially to the complete light thrown on the subject by what appeared in "New India" some weeks ago and which has since been made easily accessible to the public in the shape of a pamphlet under the title. "An Abominable Plot. But silence which I had imposed on myself must now cease and the strange utterance of the Secretary of State on the 3rd instant in reply to Mr. Hicks question makes it obligatory on me to take notice of it. In doing so, it is only necessary just to advert as briefly and accurately as I can to what took place in December last during the visit of H. E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State to this city and to a communication received by me from the Chief Secretary to the Madras Government bearing the date 8. 2. 18.

The Interview with Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy.

Most are aware that I was among those who sought and obtained an interview with the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. At the time appointed I presented myself at the Government House, and on taking my seat, the interview was begun by His Excellency the Viceroy in a spirit and warmth which absolutely startled me. In referring to what was said by the august personages and my humble self in connection with the letter in question at the interview, it is surely necessary to say that I am not violating any confidence. The interview was neither expressly nor by implication understood to involve any secrecy, and even had it been otherwise, the Chief Secretary's letter to me alluded to above removes any seal of privacy that may by any stretch of imagination be taken as attaching to what transpired at the interview.

To return to what fell from His Excellency on the special point dealt with here. The very first words, addressed to me in a tone which I most respectfully venture to describe as plainly exhibiting much temper, were in regard to the letter. I felt I was being treated harshly and not fairly for I was there to discuss political reform and not to answer to a charge of misconduct in addressing the President of the United States and I felt that I should not have been taken so unawares and made to defend myself without the least previous consideration and reflection. I did not, however, think it right to protest against the course adopted by His Excellency, but unreservedly placed before him that explanation which it was in my power on the spur of the moment to offer on the subject. In short, I told His Excellency that I found myself in a very peculiar position at the time the letter was written, and in addressing it I acted entirely 'bona fide,' and in the hope of securing through the influence of the President of the great nation that was in perfect amity with His Majesty the King-Emperor, nay more, in utter sympathy with the aims and objects of the Allies cause, that relief which we Home Rulers then stood imperatively in need of. I told His Excellency our position was this: Of the four chief officials of the Home Rule League, three of them, namely, Mrs. Besant the President Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, the Secretary and Treasurer, had been interned in the course of that very week, and the fourth official, myself, as Honourary President, every moment expected to be dealt with by the local government in a similar fashion; that it was widely believed that the action of the Government in the matter had the sanction of His Excellency, and possibly of the then Secretary of State. I urged with all deference, that it was hardly otherwise than natural and fair and just that I should avail myself of the opportunity afforded by the visit just then intended to be made by Mr. and Mrs. Hotchner to America, where I knew they had influential friends who would and could interest themselves in the welfare of India and her people, and in particular exert themselves towards the release of Mrs. Besant, well-known throughout that Continent and held in high estimation by many thousands among the citizens of that free American nation. I added that if it were necessary I could substantiate every

important allegation in the letter as regards the defects of the rule in this country by unimpeachable evidence and offered to submit to His Excellency, if permitted, copies of certain letters then in my possession as regards the inhuman treatment to which the internees in Bengal were systematically subjected, as a proof in support of one of the points urged in the letter with special reference to which His Excellency expressed his strong condemnation.

Madras Chief Secretary's Letter.

It is unnecessary to enter into further details. Suffice it to say that His Excellency conveyed his displeasure at my conduct in the most unmistakable manner in the presence of and with the express approval of the Secretary of State, and acting, if I may say so, on behalf of the latter also for the moment. Of what took place subsequently between the Indian Government and the Madras Government in relation to my letter I am unaware, save the intimation which I received from the Chief Secretary in a letter which runs as follows:—

Fort St. George.
Madras, 8-2 1918.

D. O.

Dear Sir,—His Excellency the Governor-in-Council has recently been placed in possession of printed copies of a letter purporting to have been sent by you to the address of the President of the United States. The letter is dated the 24th June 1917, and contains the statement that it was transmitted through the agency of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hotchner (who are known to have left India within a few days of the date), on the ground that it would never have reached the addressee "if sent by Mail." It has been intimated to His Excellency in Council that His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State personally questioned and rebuked you for your conduct in this matter. In these circumstances His Excellency-in-Council has decided to take no further action.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) Lionel Davidson,
Acting Chief Secretary.

One would think that this letter put an end to the matter. Unfortunately, however, things are shaping themselves in a way hopelessly injurious to the interests of the Empire in special reference to India under the unwise guidance of the War Cabinet, and the Secretary of State very shortly after his arrival in this country, became a pitiable prey to the machinations of the bureaucracy, the Anglo-Indians and Sydenhamites. He found himself incapable of acting with that dignity and responsibility befitting a Minister of the Crown at this critical juncture, and is apparently a tool in the hands of those who are exerting so bane-

ful an influence upon him since his return to his place in the Cabinet. Such is the inevitable conclusion which the events of the 3rd June point to.

I Waive all Opposition to Future Action.

Now it was admitted by His Excellency in the course of my interview with him that my letter to the President had been forwarded by the Cabinet to him some time previously. The Secretary of State could not therefore have been ignorant of the fact at the time of such transmission. Assuming that he was ignorant of it at first, he subsequently was a party to the rebuke administered to me, in the language of the Chief secretary's letter, expressing the final decision of the authorities on the subject and it could not have emanated without the full consent and sanction of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State likewise. Be this as it may it is only right that I should add that I do not for a moment intend to claim any exemption on the score of that letter from any action which may be taken in furtherance of the Secretary of State's answer on the 3rd instant. I waive all opposition to such future action if any. I go further and say that I court it with that eagerness and sincerity which my duty to the Motherland demands of me. It is superfluous to say that the case involves nothing personal, and that my cause is the cause of the whole country. In furtherance of that cause all that is mine, my name, my liberty, and every thing else, must be sacrificed and willingly sacrificed. Internment or externment, deportation and the like, have no terror for me; and at this time of my life, with no earthly expectations to realise, I feel I can have no more glorious fate to meet in pursuance of gaining Home Rule for India than to become an object of official tyranny.

The view I take of the situation is this. The internments of June last year were a step designed by those unseen Spiritual Powers who are seeking to uplift India and save the British Empire from certain destruction by the unwise rule of the bureaucracy here, and elsewhere. That step had the intended effect to a certain extent. It roused the country as nothing else could have done to a sense of its duty. It is evident however that we were lapsing into a stupour inimical to all our best interests, and a further rousing is necessary. In all humility I take it, I am the fortunate person, autocratic action against whom would afford the necessary stimulus now needed again.

I most earnestly hope that this view of the situation will commend itself to the minds of my countrymen throughout the length and breadth of the land and make them once more rally round the standard of liberty for India as an integral part of the Empire, and persist in that ceaseless agitation on constitutional lines, and only on those lines, until the goal is won or lost, which latter contingency can come about only with the disruption of the British Empire and solely through the inconceivable folly of those who are guiding its destinies at this hour of peril.

It only remains to add that I would be descending to a level that decency would prohibit were I to bandy words with the Secretary of State with reference to the ungracious and ungraceful language, which he thought fit to employ, in replying to Mr. Hick's question—language which I am afraid was prompted altogether by petty party tactics. Surely he could have fully and adequately discharged his duty and with candour, had he told the House what had been done, when he was in this country, by way of censoring me.

I must however not flinch from protesting against the view that there was

anything in my position, past or present, that in the slightest degree rendered it discreditable to me to submit my representation to President Wilson.

Most happy to renounce the Knighthood.

The telegraphic summary which alone is before me throws no light on what the Secretary of State had in mind in referring to my position in the course of his remarks. If it was my membership as a Knight Companion of the Indian Order that he was thinking of, all I can say is, none can agree with him in supposing that the possession of this title debars me from criticising misrule in this country. It is worthy of remark that titles like these are conferred on His Majesty's Indian subjects without their consent, and however unwilling one may be to become the recipient of these official favours etiquette understood in this country precludes him from refusing to accept them. For my own part I shall be most happy to renounce this Knight Companionship and return at once the insignia thereof, which on my death my heirs have to return, or remit the value thereof, if the retention of the title and the insignia should in any way hinder the exercise of my right of citizenship to complain of wrongs and seek redress against the consequences of maladministration.

I doubt whether even half a dozen among my friends or enemies now know the history of my Knighthood. Needless to say it was not a reward for any liberal use of wealth which is the royal road to such distinctions, for the simple reason that I have never had money enough to make such use or show of it. Nor was it the reward for any special service, public or private, but due to a mere accident if I may put it so. Having acted as Chief Justice for a month and a half about August, 1899, on the retirement of Sir Arthur Collins, the announcement of the honour in my case followed on the 1st of January next as a simple matter of official routine, it being the practice to make every Indian High Court Judge that officiates as a Chief Justice for however short a time a Knight, as compensation, I take it, for the disability of such judges to be a permanent Chief Justice. How I came into possession of the insignia of the Order is also worth chronicling. Later on, when I was on leave and was staying in my cottage on the Palani Hills, I was called upon to state when and how I wished to receive the insignia. I replied to the effect that it would be most convenient to me to get it through the post. This was apparently unacceptable to the official that had to dispose of the matter, and one morning the acting Collector of the District came in with his peon and unostentatiously handed me the little casket that contained them. I was thus saved undergoing the ordeal which now awaits most of the members of my order. Such are the facts of my Knighthood which it will so gladden the heart of the Editor of the "Mail" to see me deprived of.

I would respectfully suggest to him to devote the next article on the subject that he should therein formulate the process by which my deskknighting should be carried out. A Darbar of course would be indispensable, as well as a mourning costume to be worn on such an occasion. The rest I humbly leave to the ingenious brain of the Editor, among whose many noble qualities refinement and courtesy, non-vindictiveness and Christian charity, are not the least prominent.

I believe the truth about these titles was never more tellingly expressed than in an incident described in a book on Sweden which I read long ago. When titles were first introduced in that country, two friends who had just

[JUNE '18]

TO HIS CRITICS



received them met and exchanged congratulations. Then one of them put to the other the question "Brother, is your shadow longer now?" The thoughtful silence which ensued furnishes the necessary answer.

One cannot help observing that among Western inventions, none operates more seductively and to the detriment of public interests than these titles. They will verily be a delusion and a snare to be sedulously avoided by every honest man if by accepting them he is to be debarred from the legitimate exercise of his civic rights.

My Pension.

Next, if what the Secretary of State had in mind with reference to my position, was receipt of a pension by me, my answer is equally strong and clear. In the first place, the payment is made to me out of the revenues of the land of my birth and not from any foreign sources. In the next place, neither the original grant of it nor its continuance depended or depends on the good will and pleasure of any individual or any executive body. The right to the pension accrued under the authority of a statute of the Imperial Parliament, and none can deprive me of it save by legislation of that same Parliament.

It may not be out of place to add that in retiring on the partial pension which I receive now, I acted with a sense of duty that should protect me against taunts like those made in the columns of certain Anglo-Indian journals with special reference to my being a pensioner. For had I only thought of my own personal interest and continued to serve but eight months more, two of which would have been vacation time, I should be drawing the substantial sum of Rs. 5,000 per annum more than I do now. But I preferred to act otherwise lest the discharge of my duties as Judge even during that short period, should be in any way inefficient, and sent in my resignation notwithstanding the despatch of the then Secretary of State which entitled me to put in that additional service as a special case.

Lastly I say that I would more readily lose my pension than deprive myself, by reason of my continuing to draw it, of any right of my citizenship. And I say to writers in the Anglo Indian journals who throw taunts at me with reference to my pension, that I do not mind in the least if they could succeed, in depriving me of the wages which I am enjoying as the fruit of the most laborious and conscientious discharge of my duties as a Judge in the highest Court in the land, and leaving me to find my own food and raiment. Let them know that these I shall get from that association of Sannyasins with whom I stand related, which entitles me to their care and protection, and therefore no pretended humane sentiments need deter my detractors from depriving me of my life-provision by the State. Let me add that that association is not the Theosophical Society, the present President whereof has been atrociously libelled as receiving vile German gold.

SIR. J. D. REES.

Just a line by way of a postscript in reference to Sir John Rees' observation that my letter was a senile effusion. He reminds me of a felicitous remark of Sir Fitz James Stephen: "Artful liars tell probable falsehoods." Undeniably the Honourable Member's suggestion as to my alleged senility is an absolute falsehood, thought to be probable only because of my age. I venture to say

that my intellects was never more acute or clear, and in the suggestion to the contrary, there is as little truth as in the suggestion that Hon. Member's career in the House of Commons from its commencement down to this day was ever marked by sanity and good sense.

RENOUNCEMENT OF TITLES.

Subsequently Sir Subramaniya Aiyar wrote a letter to the Chief Secretary to the Madras Govt. renouncing his titles. He wrote :—

After the contemptuous terms which so responsible a Minister of the Crown thought fit to use towards me from his place in the House of Commons it is impossible for me with any self-respect to continue to avail myself of the honour of being a title holder. I therefore feel compelled to renounce my title of K. C. I. E., and Dewan Bahadur. I have accordingly resolved not to receive any communications addressed to me in future with the prefix Sir, and affix K. C. I. E., or Dewan Bahadur and, hereby intimate such resolution to my correspondents."

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MR. AND MRS. HENRY HOTCHNER IN INDIA.

Colonel Yate asked the Secretary of State for India : Who were the Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hotchner who were described in the letter addressed by Sir Subramaniya Aiyer, K. C. I. E., to President Wilson as having graciously consented to leave their home in India in order to convey the letter to President Wilson personally in Washington ; what position Mr. and Mrs. Hotchner occupied in India ; of what nationality they were by birth ; whether they travelled from India to America on a British passport ; whether they were not engaged on propaganda work on behalf of the Home Rule for India League in America or elsewhere ; and whether they were to be permitted to return to India.

Mr. Montagu ; I understand that Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hotchner are United States citizens by birth, who lived for some time at Adyar, in Madras, and co-operated in Mrs. Besant's theosophical work. They appear to be giving theosophical lectures in the United States. Mrs. Hotchner is said to be at the head of the American section of the Temple of the Rosy Cross or the Brotherhood of the Mystic Star. Presumably they travelled last year with a United States passport issued by the authorities in India. The question of allowing their return to India would be considered by the Indian Government, when they applied for a passport.

GERMAN PLOTS AND INDIA.

Sir J. D. Rees asked the Secretary of State for India : Whether he was aware that the trial of the German Indian conspirators concluded in May in San Francisco, clearly established the fact that the German consulate at that city instigated, aided, and abetted an Indian revolutionary movement in the United States and in many other parts of the world for the overthrow of the Government of India and the obstruction of Great Britain in the conduct of the war, and that proof was forthcoming at the trial of the payment of no less than £400,000 to one Bengali conspirator; and whether any statement would be made regarding the German plots in India on any occasion during the present Session.

Mr. Montagu : The statement of my hon. friend is substantially accurate, though I cannot vouch for the exact amount of the large sums of money undoubtedly paid by the German authorities in the hope of fomenting sedition in India. I will consider the question of making a statement if the House desires, but there are obvious difficulties in giving a comprehensive account of the matter.

REFORM PROPOSALS.

Col. Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India : Whether any steps were being taken to embody in draft Bill form the proposals for Indian reform, or if that stage must await Cabinet approval of the scheme in detail.

Mr. Montagu : Yes, sir ; the steps to which my hon. and gallant friend refers are now being taken.

Mr. Whyte : When does the right hon. gentleman propose to set up a Standing Committee of this House on Indian affairs?

Mr. Montagu : I cannot answer that question until the Government have decided what policy they will adopt.

Mr. Whyte : That is part of my right hon. friend's policy?

Mr. Montagu : It is a part of the policy which His Excellency the Viceroy and I recommend to his Majesty's Government.

Colonel Wedgwood : Will the right hon. gentleman say whether this draft Bill will or will not be finished within three months' time?

Mr. Montagu : I cannot say yet. My hon. friend will realise that it is a very complicated Bill to draw up, but it is being proceeded with as quickly as possible.

Mr. G. Terrell: May I ask whether the Bill for giving Home Rule to India is considered a war measure?

Mr. Montagu: I don't understand that. I am not drafting a Bill for Home Rule for India.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Viscount Midleton asked whether it was proposed to invite the House to discuss in any form the Indian proposals of Mr. Montagu before the adjournment.

Earl Curzon said he had not had an opportunity of consulting either the Secretary for India or Lord Islington, and he would hesitate to give a definite reply. So far as he knew, it was not in contemplation on the part of the Government to seek a discussion on this matter. He should have thought that it was not very urgent to have a discussion at this moment and that on the whole it would be better to wait and to see what reception the proposals met with in this country and in India.

DR. NAIR AND MR. TILAK.

Lord Lamington put a question to the Government as to whether there is any precedent for debarring an elector of this country who has committed no offence against the law from speaking in public, and whether they will not reconsider their decision prohibiting Dr. Nair from addressing public meetings or writing to the Press. His lordship said that the question was founded on a report which appeared in "The Times" on July 8. He had had no communication with Dr. Nair whom he had never seen. He understood Dr. Nair came to England for private reasons and for medical treatment, and when he arrived he was informed that he would not be allowed to address any meetings or publish any writings as to his views on Indian reform. Dr. Nair was known as the leader of the non-Brahman movement in South India, and as the editor of "Justice." In view of the stoppage of the Home Rule deputation, he was informed on reaching this country that he must give an undertaking not to address public meetings or write to the Press. It was unfortunate that he should be debarred from expressing his views in admiration of our rule in India.

Lord Sydenham spoke of Dr. Nair as a loyal Indian moderate.

Lord Islington, Under-Secretary for India, detailed the circumstances under which Mr. Tilak was allowed to proceed to England in connection with his libel suit against Sir Valentine Chirol. A

condition was imposed that he should confine himself to that case, and not express any views on Home Rule in India. Dr. Nair, who was stated to have announced publicly his intention of coming to England to combat the views of Mr. Tilak, in the event of Mr. Tilak holding meetings here in favour of Home Rule, actually came for the purpose of receiving medical advice after being granted an unconditional passport by the Government of Madras. On grounds of justice and fair play, he was, on landing here, asked by the Secretary for India to sign an undertaking to observe the same reticence as had been imposed on Mr. Tilak. This course had the Prime Minister's approval. Lord Islington proceeded to examine three alternative courses of which the Government had had the choice, and contended that though the line of action taken might be open to criticism, it was that which for the time being and in the present juncture presented the least objection.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Wednesday July 17.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

Mr. Denman asked the Prime Minister: Whether having regard to the fact that each month's delay in granting constitutional reforms to India added to the difficulties of granting them and diminished their value when granted, he would allow an early discussion of the Secretary of State's Report.

Mr. Bonar Law: I cannot add anything on this subject to the answer I gave on the 10th instant to the hon. Baronet the Member for West Denbigshire.

Mr. Denman: Does not the right hon. Gentleman recognise that the continued neglect by this House of Indian subjects has a very bad effect in India, and while it is recognised that the Government can give no immediate reply, would not a Debate in this House give valuable ventilation to the whole subject?

Mr. Bonar Law: I think it is a matter of opinion. In the first place time is very limited and I do not wish to give up time unless it is necessary. Then the subject is really a very complicated one and one must have time to study the documents.

Mr. C. Roberts: Does that answer cover the case of a Debate on the Indian Budget and does the right hon. Gentleman wish to convey the impression that he desires to shelve this Report and the urgent questions connected with it?

Mr. Bonar Law : I hope my answer did not convey that impression. It was certainly not what I intended. Everyone recognises the importance of this subject. I have myself tried to look at this Report, but I could not attempt to deal with it now. I think the same thing is true of all the members of the Government and I fancy it would be true of most Members of the House of Commons.

Sir H. Craik : Is it not absolutely necessary to receive opinions from all parts of India, which must take some time to reach this country ?

Mr. Bonar Law : I really do not think there need be much discussion in question and answer on this subject. I have already said if I found there was a general desire in the House to have it discussed I would find time. As a matter of fact I think nothing would be gained by discussing it before the Recess.

Mr. Roberts : Has not the right hon. Gentleman already received a formal request for a discussion on the Indian Budget and has it been granted ?

Mr. Bonar Law : I do not think I have received such notice.

Mr. Pringle : Has the official Opposition asked for a day ?

Mr. Guiland : I made a representation to the Noble Lord (Lord E. Talbot) asking for a day.

Mr. Bonar Law : I have no doubt what the hon. Gentleman says is true. Very likely it came to me, but I have forgotten it if it is so. It is a question of time.

Mr. Roberts : Is it not really neglecting India that we cannot spare a single day ?

Mr. Bonar Law : I really think to make that suggestion is itself to do the evil which the hon. Gentleman wishes to avoid. There is no such feeling in any part of the House. It is a question of the general arrangement of the business of the House.

H. of Commons—Monday July 22.

ARMY COMMISSION TO INDIANS.

Colonel Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India : what were now the regulations as to Indian citizens obtaining the King's commission in the Indian Army.

Mr. Montagu : The King's Commission will be granted to Indians under four categories :

(1) A certain number of substantive King's commissions in the Indian Army to selected Indian officers who have specially distinguished themselves in the present war.

(2) A certain number of King's commissions conferring honorary rank in the Indian Army to selected Indian officers who have rendered distinguished service not necessarily during the present War, and who, owing to age or lack of educational qualifications, are not eligible for substantive King's commissions. Such honorary commissions will carry with them special advantages in respect of pay and pension.

(3) A certain number of temporary but substantive King's commissions in the Indian Army to selected candidates nominated partly from civil life and partly from the Army.

(4) A certain number of King's commissions to Indians on qualifying as cadets at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. For this purpose ten Indian gentlemen will be nominated annually during the War for cadetships.

Colonel Wedgwood : Does that answer mean that Indian students in this country will be able to get temporary commissions, or will they be debarred unless they go to Sandhurst—under the third head ?

Mr. Montagu : Under the third head they will be nominated in India.

Colonel Wedgwood : Even if they have obtained the qualifications in this country by being at Oxford or Cambridge they will be eligible for commissions ?

Mr. Montagu : No commissions will be given without adequate training.

Mr. C. Roberts : Is there any provision for the military training of these officers, or candidates for that rank, in India as well as in England ?

Mr. Montagu : Yes, Sir. No substantive commissions will be granted to anybody without adequate training. It is intended to provide that adequate training under Category 3 in India.

Colonel Wedgwood : Is it impossible for Indians to get into officers' training schools in this country ?

Mr. Montagu : I would rather not go into the details of the Regulations in answer to questions because I have not them before

me, but I will lay the Regulations in due course upon the Table of the House.

Colonel Wedgwood : Then we may take it that this decision is a victory for those who consider that Indians are not fit to go into officers' training schools in this country ?

Mr. Montagu : No, I think the answer I have given shows that commissions are going to be given to efficient soldiers subject to His Majesty's approval.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

In reply to Lord Sydenham regarding the grant of Commissions to Indians, **Lord Islington said**—The scheme which was already published marked the close of a long-standing controversy. Successive Secretaries of State, Viceroys, Commanders-in-Chief, besides many statesmen and distinguished military Officers, now urged trying the experiment. A united Indian people also favoured it. The Commander-in-Chief fully appreciated the delicacy of some of the issues involved, and the importance was not overlooked of ensuring that there should be no falling-off in the quality and quantity of British Officers in the Indian Army. It was not intended to grant an Indian a Commission merely because he was an Indian but only when he had earned it, as in the case of British Officers, by proving himself fit and qualified to occupy the position. The war had unquestionably proved that there were many Indians available who fully fulfilled those fundamental conditions ; and now in opening the door to Commissioned ranks gradually, there would be no ground for any apprehension. He hoped that British Officers entering the Indian Army would realise that this fresh departure in no way lessened the need for continued effort to do their utmost to maintain the high traditions of the Indian Army and would follow a career not less honourable because henceforth it would embrace comradeship with Indian fellow-subjects. He hoped that this measure would be regarded as the first step in the inevitable advance, which would more and more bring Indian and British fellow-subjects to a proper and natural relationship as comrades in arms, engaged in the common cause of the defence of India and the maintenance of the security of the British Empire.

In course of his speech, Lord Islington mentioned that three candidates recommended for temporary Commissions had served in the ranks in British regiments in France. One of them was a grandson of the late Dadabhoi Naoroji.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday August 6, 1918.

MR. MONTAGU'S BUDGET SPEECH.

Mr. Montagu, in moving that the House go into Committee on the East India Revenue accounts, reminded the House that the one outstanding feature of last year's finance was India's contribution of Rs. 100,000,000 towards the cost of the war. The intention was to raise as much as possible of that loan in India and to liquidate the balance by the Government of India taking over the required amount of the British war debt, meeting the interest thereupon, and gradually discharging the principal. The response to the loan raised in India far exceeded any anticipation. The estimate of a loan under previous circumstances was something like £4,000,000. The loan last year realised £35,000,000, which was in due course transferred to the Imperial Government; and at a later date in the same year the Government of India succeeded in raising for its own needs Rs. 30,000,000 in the form of Treasury Bills for the purpose of financing war expenditure in India. The applications for War Loan from all classes were most satisfactory, and large subscriptions were obtained not only in British India, but in the Native States also. It was hardly necessary to remind the House of the poverty of the people of India, of the undeveloped condition of its natural resources, and that contributions to loans of this kind could only be made, not by denying luxuries, but by severely restricting expenditure on such vital necessities, as education, sanitation, and the development of industries. This year a new War Loan had been issued, the proceeds of which also would be paid to the Imperial Government. The estimated yield was £20,000,000. Already, some weeks ago £16,500,000 had been realised, and therefore, it was obvious that of the £100,000,000, promised, well over £50,000,000 had already been raised in India itself. Everybody would agree that this was a very remarkable result.

India and the War.

In 1917 1,383,000 tons of wheat were exported by the Government of India for the needs of Great Britain and her Allies. Special measures were taken last autumn to increase the wheat area, and 44,688,000 acres of wheat were planted; but he feared that the esti-

mated exportable surplus would not be reached, because the monsoon for the first time for many years, was not progressing favourably. Two hundred million lb. of tea were exported last year, and arrangements had been made to export 250,000,000 lb. this season. Thirty one million pounds worth of jute and jute goods were exported for war purposes, £2,250,000 worth of wool, large quantities of Army blankets, and the tanned hides needed for the uppers of 60 per cent of the boots manufactured in this country were provided from India. Indian troops had played, and were playing, by far the larger part in Mesopotamia, Palestine and East Africa and at the beginning of the war they played a very large part in France. This had been possible solely by the increase in the number of recruits. Before 1914 the annual intake of recruits for non-combatant purposes was about 15,000. Last year the figure exceeded 285,000, and reckoning non-combatants, 440,000. This year it was proposed to raise 500,000 combatants, besides a large number of non-combatants, and those responsible for recruiting had no doubt that India would obtain the men necessary to complete the new establishment which had been sanctioned by the War Office. The recruiting figures for June reached the record figure of 50,000 and it was remarkable that Provinces from which recruits had never come before—races which had never yet shown martial instincts, or only to a small degree—were providing their contribution to those numbers. The new recruits were not being asked to come to the war only as privates. They were to have an opportunity, comparable to the opportunity given he thought to every other soldier raised for combatant purposes for the British Empire, of securing His Majesty's Commission.

It had been stated in the house the other day that the military members of the Army Council differed from the policy of the Government of India and of the Cabinet on the subject of Commissions in the Army. Without entering into controversy, he would say that if they asked a man to fight in this war—in this war above all other wars—then, surely, he should be given every opportunity of winning by gallantry any position in the Army, whatever his race. It was said sometimes that it was an intolerable thing to risk British soldiers being commanded by Indian officers. Those racial considerations were, wholly out of date. When Indians were eligible for the highest positions in their own country in civilian life, when Indian officers commanded large hospitals in Mesopotamia at this moment, it was idle to say that racial considerations should continue to debar Indians from becoming officers in his Majesty's Army. That controversy, which had extended through many years, was,

at last settled with the approval of the overwhelming majority of the people of this country.

Indian effort in Mesopotamia.

In regard to Indian effort in Mesopotamia, the railways which conveyed our troops in both Mesopotamia and Palestine had been largely constructed from materials supplied by the Indian railways, and were worked mainly by Indian labour. Seventeen hundred miles of track, 200 engines, and nearly 6,000 vehicles had been provided by India for the various theatres of war. The river flotilla on the Tigris and the Euphrates was composed mainly of vessels drawn from Indian rivers. The plant which now lit Basra and Bagdad was nearly all drawn from India, and was worked by Indian officers. With the help of expert advice, modern irrigation, and up-to-date agricultural machinery, a very large proportion of which came from India, the former fertility of Mesopotamia was being gradually revived. Those resources provided by India were gradually changing the appearance of the country, and eradicating the blight of Turkish misrule.

The Reforms—its Responsibility

The principles of the reforms which they had recommended were the logical and inevitable outcome of over a hundred years of Indian history. The demand for Indian Self-Government had been quickened by the war. A statement of our own ideals from our own Ministers and Allied ministers, the natural searching of men's hopes and aspirations for a better time to come, had added their impetus, and made an irresistible appeal for some further step in the development of self-government. The determination of the Government to do something more started in the time of Lord Hardinge. He (Mr. Montagu) inherited the situation from Mr. A. Chamberlain. It had been said that the whole movement was his conspiracy, and that he had led an unwilling and unfortunate Viceroy. That was a travesty of the facts. Lord Chelmsford and he were together responsible for their policy. They had both walked together, and neither was unwillingly harnessed to the other. Reading the announcement of Government policy made on August 20 last, he said that that was their terms of reference; it was the principle to which the Government stood committed. The House might, if it wished, tear up the specific proposals of the Report he had referred to, but they could not, without the grossest breach of faith, depart

from the announcement of August 20. If they criticised the scheme because they did not want responsible government for India then they were denying the principle enunciated on August 20. If they criticised the scheme because they wanted to do it at once and to have a stereotyped timetable taking it out of the hands of Parliament and the responsible Government, then also they were denying the principle of August 20. He could not conceive that there could have been any other answer to the history of India than that given in the Government proposals.

He said that if the idea was that the Indian Government was to be one of subordination and subjection, then Lord Morley's reform and the grant of high office to Indians, the actual inclusion of Indians in the Imperial War Cabinet itself, were all out of harmony with the announcement of August 20. They could not devote centuries to the tilling of the soil and then refuse to plant the tree. If they were going to institute responsible government in India, the first thing they must do was to give the people the vote and to exercise them in the use of the vote. They could not instil the customs, habits, restraints and conventions upon which representative institutions depended until they gave people the vote and the people used it. Nor could they teach people to use the vote wisely if the vote was to achieve nothing. They must give to the person voted for something to do, so that he could be trained in administration, and so that the person who possessed the vote would think it worth while to give it. Therefore, since they wanted responsible institutions in India, they ought to give the vote to the people on as broad a franchise as possible, and at the same time they must give the representatives elected by those votes real and responsible work to do.

House of Commons and India.

This is the rough outline of the scheme proposed. It was suggested that the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be borne on the Votes of the House of Commons. There was nothing very novel in that—it was an old proposal—and nothing very revolutionary. It was proposed simply for the reason that the authors of the scheme desired that the control over Indian affairs, exercised by the Secretary of State, which could only be exercised in the name of this House, should be brought into proper relation to the House itself. He was not now talking of the financial unfairness which saddled the cost of his salary on the Indian taxpayer. Every other Minister's salary, with the sole exception of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, was borne on the Votes

of this House and paid by the British taxpayer. He hoped he should not be considered lacking in respect to the House when he said that Indian debates suffered from their unreality. It was therefore also proposed that there should be appointed at the beginning of every Session a Select Committee of the House of Commons which should report to the House of Commons on Indian affairs for the past year before the debate took place on the salary of the Secretary of State for India. He pleaded for the acceptance of that reform. The experience of members who had lived in India was invaluable, particularly when they remembered that it was possible that conditions might have changed since they left the country. If there were in the House a body of members willing to devote themselves from Session to Session to the affairs of India, thus becoming acquainted with the broad outlines of its administration and its problems, India would gain by that real, sustained, and upto-date Parliamentary interest, and Parliament would be able with less effort to devote itself to its great Indian responsibilities. It had been said in answer to this suggestion that it would bring India into party affairs. He could not in the least understand that argument. It seemed to him that nothing was more likely to keep India out of party affairs than to have a Select Committee for considering Indian matters drawn from all parties in the House.

Indian Legislatures.

It had often been complained that the Secretary of State interfered too much in Indian affairs. On the other hand, it had often been complained that he did not interfere enough. The Secretary of State interfered in the name of Parliament, and he and Parliament were trustees for the Indian people and as responsible Government in India grew, it followed that the control from here must be relaxed. He had been criticised for saying that. But was there any reason to fear it? Had not the history of our Empire throughout shown that control from home had gradually, or suddenly in some cases, been replaced by control on the spot, by the people of the country themselves? Had it ever weakened the Imperial connexion? Had it not been the source of the Empire's strength? Then as to the Government of India itself, it was suggested that the Government of India was not a suitable sphere in which to start the first step towards responsible government, and that for the present, until it was seen how responsible institutions were growing in India, it was desirable to keep the

Government of India responsible to Parliament and to Parliament alone. So it was proposed to maintain the powers of the Government of India. But they could not, he submitted, leave things as they were in the Government of India. They could not call a Legislative Council, which contained only 27 elected members, a sufficiently representative body to constitute a Legislative Council for India suitable to the present day. Thirty seven members was not enough; they must enlarge it in order to make it more representative. Since it was suggested that the council should be enlarged, and since it was suggested that the Government was to enforce its will when it wished, it seemed to him that they were inevitably led to the consideration of a Second Chamber. That was the proposal contained in the report. The advantage of this machinery seemed to him to be that it did make the Legislative Council far more representative than it was at the present time, and it did ensure representative criticisms in Delhi and Simla, and that it could easily be developed from time to time into the ordinary bicameral legislative machinery. It was suggested that there should be another body composed of the Princes of the Native States. It seemed to him that if they had this germ of a Second Chamber they also indicated a way by which in due course the Princes, now rather isolated in the Constitution, might join for joint deliberation of common affairs, and only for common affairs, with the Upper House.

The Provinces.

It was in the provinces that they suggested the first steps towards responsible government should be taken. This would enable them to differentiate between province and province according to their readiness for responsibility. In dealing with the provinces they had only three choices. They could go on as they were with an Executive Government wholly responsible to the electorate, but that was not a step towards the progressive realisation of responsible government. Or they could have complete responsible government in the provinces. He believed they would hardly find a single instance of a province which was ready today for complete responsible government. Therefore there was only one other alternative left, and that was responsibility in some subjects and the reservation of others. That was the system which they ventured to submit to public opinion for criticism. They could transfer more subjects in one province than they could in another, and they could, as time went on, increase the number of transferred subjects—and he had little

doubt it would go faster than many people supposed—until they got to the time when there were no subjects to transfer and all had been transferred. Then they would get full responsible government in the provinces. That was the principle of the provincial proposals.

The one provision to which both Lord Chelmsford and he attached great importance was the periodic review of the working of the whole scheme by a tribunal appointed by this House every ten or twelve years. It would be the authority working in the name of Parliament which would decide upon the increase in the number of transferred subjects. The knowledge that this review was destined to come at stated intervals would make for the smooth working of the machine. The official and the non-official elements would all realise that they could take their grievances for remedy to the High Court of Parliament itself at stated intervals, and he believed this necessary transitional machinery could only work if there was this periodical review.

Reply to Criticism.

At every stage of the whole proceedings his colleagues and he had almost daily discussions on all the recommendations that were made to them by public and private individuals. Not only that, but at each stage those who came from England sat in informal conference with the whole Government of India, and there were constant sub-committees of two sets of people to consider the details. Besides that they received innumerable deputations and had innumerable and long interviews from early morn till late at night with anyone who had anything to contribute. There had been a suggestion that this work should be done all over again by another Committee. He did not think that that was possible. He did not believe they would ever be able to convince the Indian people that they (the House) were in earnest if they adopted such a proposal as that, but both Lord Chelmsford and he were absolutely sincere when they asked that the Government should publish this Report for criticism. It was not a finished document which they sought to translate unaltered into an Act of Parliament. It must be sifted and tested. Did it carry out the principles which it professed? For example, they had stated their objections to communal representation. He did not go back one single hair's breadth from what had been said on that point. If they wanted to build up community of interests, to get over racial antagonism and antipathies, surely the worst way to begin was to send people to different pollings

booths, making them into different constituencies for returning their representatives. They had also been accused of trying to divide the people of India in order to rule. If they established communal representation on a large scale there would be some justice in that criticism. The whole success of the scheme depended upon getting an electorate thoroughly representative of all the peoples of India. The report itself said that it was not, and ought not to be, their aim to hand over the Government of India, or any part of the Government of India, to the representatives of any particular section. They wanted an electorate as representative as possible. And for that reason, although they recognised right through that it was upon the development of a successful electorate that the whole scheme depended, the scheme would not be complete until that electorate had been devised. It was recommended that two committees should be appointed at once to consider the electorate and the differentiation between the reserved and transferred subjects, and also what should be the Government of India's concern and what should be Provincial. Until those Committees had reported the scheme was not complete and therefore, in order to complete the scheme, His Majesty's Government had assented to the immediate appointment of those committees to recommend to them what electorate was possible. Those who thought that communal representation was the only way to obtain a representation of all the peoples of India would have an opportunity of arguing that as an open question before the Committee which would sit in India. He should regret very much if it was proved that that was the only way. He felt convinced that the way to beat your enemy at the poll was to fight him and not to ask for special representation of this sort. It seemed to him that if responsibility for certain subjects was transferred to Indian Ministers we must ensure that we had given them the machinery which would enable them to discharge their responsibility. Similarly, if responsibility for other subjects was reserved to the existing Executive Council, we must ensure that we had given them the necessary machinery to discharge their responsibility. He thought the report did this by means of Councils of States and Grand Committees. He invited the assistance of every one who would accept the announcement of August 20, and who would offer not destructive but constructive criticism. He did not think it was necessary to be argued that the Indians who were anxious to embark upon this experiment were imbued with a patriotism and a love of their country which he did not think had ever been equalled in the history of the world, a patriotism which was almost religion, and which was becoming slowly a national patriotism.

India, the defence of India, the working for India, pride in India—these were all emotions which animated those who accepted the announcement of August 20. There were some who did not accept it, not because they did not believe in eventual responsible Government, but because they did not like the progressive stages proposed.

Nature of the Limitations.

All the limitations which were to be found in the scheme were limitations not of distrust or fear but of facts and of time. It was useless to expect that Parliament, proud of the India that Englishmen had done so much to make, were going to give up the control of Indian affairs to an Indian electorate which did not exist. It was impossible to pretend that all the disabilities and obstacles to democratic progress which were presented by illiteracy, by caste distinction, by communal antagonism, did not exist. They did. They were only pointed out by the true friends of India because they believed that with the development of free institutions they would tend to disappear. He did not mean for one moment that caste would disappear, but the features of caste which made it impossible to regard India as a democratic nation might, with the flow of time, disappear. As these antagonisms between communities disappeared, and as education spread, the reasons for the limitations would disappear with them, and India would have a right to claim from the House through these periodical reviews that the limitations imposing these conditions should be swept away. We must create, train and exercise an electorate before these things could happen. Therefore it seemed to him that people had no right to reject this proposal because it did not give them to-day things which could only be got to-morrow. What they were entitled to ask was that they should be placed upon the road and that they should have access to Parliament at stated intervals for the hearing of their case. It seemed to him that there was no other course. Agitation could produce chaos and revolution and that was one way of proceeding. But these things had always imperiled liberty and retarded progress, and they had always caused misery untold and hardships unfathomed to those who had lived through epochs of that kind. If we were to set out to build a free, self-governing, responsible India under the aegis of the British flag, and as an integral part of the British Empire, with fixity of purpose and determination, it seemed to him that we should do well to start now. We are piling up work for ourselves after the war. Ought not we to do what we could to-day? Was there a better time for doing this work than now, when we were face to face with the re-

cord of India's share in the war, when we were able to point on the one hand by looking at the lack of ideals that have made Germany the enemy of mankind, and on the other hand, by looking on those unhappy events which had made Russia the object of all men's compassion?

INDIAN BUDGET DEBATE.

Speech of Mr. Charles Roberts.

The following is taken from the speech of Mr. Roberts on the occasion of the Indian Budget debate.

The debate had revealed so far a singular unanimity. There might be reservations, and there might be slight criticisms, but one had the satisfaction of seeing that Sir J. D. Rees agreed with Mr. Cotton. And yet the amount of unanimity which had prevailed might perhaps give a wrong impression, for he could not but remember that his right hon. friend had not at the present time his Government behind his proposal. To-day he made a very welcome announcement. He said he was prepared to take a very notable step in setting up two committees. He (Mr. Roberts) did not want to press that unduly, but it clearly did commit not only himself, but the Government of which he was a member, to further steps along this road. He did not suppose it would be fair to assume that they had done more than accept the Report on its general principle. He hoped that might be so. At all events, they had not rejected it as being inconsistent with their declaration in August last, and the fact that they wished to see it worked out and proceeded with was an omen of their intentions of which they should take note. He did not wish at this present stage to put inconvenient questions. They were told by the Leader of the House that the pressure of business had been too great for the Government yet to make up their minds. One understood their preoccupation, but at the present moment they remain of course bound by their declaration of August last year, and after the holidays it would be their duty to press them a little further about that declaration, for as his right hon. friend made it clear, that declaration did commit them to taking substantial steps as soon as possible, and if those substantial steps were not the acceptance of his right hon. friend's report, then they would have to ask what were the substantial steps which they were going to take? The words, "as soon as possible", were also words they could not forget.

They certainly did not mean the latest possible date, and although they gave a reasonable time, yet this was one of those matters to which the story of the Books of Sibyl was applicable. He admitted the scheme is difficult to grasp as a whole. It was not merely that the details were somewhat complicated. They were novel expedients in the art of government perhaps, but it was a balanced scheme, and different speakers had already laid stress upon different parts of it. Sir J. D. Rees was satisfied with the safeguards. He found that there were satisfactory assurances for the maintenance of British power, and he himself thought there were safeguards in the scheme. But the existence of those safeguards did not prevent this measure in reality from marking a great transition from a bureaucratic and autocratic system of government to the popular government on which the Government of India will have to rest in the future.

First stages of responsibility.

It began the first stages of the responsibility of Indian Ministers to an enlarged Indian electorate, and it provided statutory machinery for extending that measure of responsibility at recurring intervals. It did give to the Indians a place consistent with their own self-respect in an ultimately self-governing India which would form an integral part of the Empire. They would be in the future no longer mere passive subjects of Imperial rule, but conscious partners in an Empire which, in spite of differences of race, creed, and language, existed for ideals of freedom and civilisation which appealed to Englishmen just as much as to Indians.

There had been a great deal of agreement as to principles expressed in the discussion up to date. And yet the reluctance of the Government to commit itself to the principles of the Report at the present time joined with hostile voices that had not only found expression in that House, but had also found expression in the Press, were a real danger signal to impatient idealists who, whether in this country or in India, were not content with the rate of progress which was being proposed. It was always a mistake, in judging of reforms, to measure them by a standard of theoretic but unattainable perfection. It was rather wiser to consider whether in practice they did represent substantial improvements on the existing state of things, and he defied anyone of honest purpose, who would take the trouble to grasp the scheme in its general principles and in its details, to fail to see that, in spite

of the safeguards which were provided, it did give a very substantial and marked advance of self-government in India. He said this because he noticed a letter in a leading journal within the last few days which, on behalf of unofficial Indians in this country, complained that though they did not wish the Report rejected, yet it gave little or nothing of real value to them. It was very difficult to summarise. He admitted it did provide—and rightly provided—during a great transition, during the evolution of popular government, power to maintain law and order. It left the Government free with full power to discharge its Imperial responsibilities. But if they look—he would not say to changes in relation to the Secretary of State, to Parliament, or to the Indian Parliament—but taking the actual changes in India, it was impossible to say that there were not substantial improvements from the standpoint of any one who wished to see self-government carried into effect or to see India marching upon the road to self-government.

Stages in the scheme.

The stages in the scheme towards self-government in India were popular control over local government (in districts and towns); the extension or rather creation of electorates, mainly on a direct territorial basis; a largely increased measure of autonomy for the provinces, as distinct from the Government of India; the institution of Executive Councils in four additional provinces, the placing of an Indian member on those Councils in all the eight provinces concerned; the enlargement of provincial councils, the increase of the elective majority, and their control of certain departments to be transferred to them; the establishment of Indian Ministers, who could, together with the Executive Council, form part of the provincial government and would have to administer the transferred departments; the accountability of these Indian Ministers primarily for the first five years to their constituencies, and thereafter their full responsibility to the provincial councils; the separation of all India and Provincial finance, and a much freer hand to the Indian Ministers and to the Provincial Council to propose and carry new taxation and to raise loans; in the sphere of the Government of India the addition of a second Indian member to the Viceroy's Executive Council of six, and the enlargement of the Viceroy's Legislative Council with a view to making it more representative of Indian opinion; and the institution of a statutory machinery for the enlargement of this measure of self-government at recurring intervals. He could not understand anyone who

wished to take an honest view of this subject, not realising that it did mark a very substantial advance. But his right hon. friend said that he was prepared to vary details. It was not quite clear whether that might not open a somewhat dangerous prospect. Certainly none of these details was regarded as having any special sacrosanctity. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, for instance, thought there was too great complexity. He did not think he would find it, if he gave his mind to it, very easy to frame a simple system to carry out the declaration of August last. Full responsible government was not a very simple form of government if they try to set out on paper all the unwritten conventions and understandings on which it rested. Bureaucratic and responsible government they knew, but the hybrid between the two—a transitional form of government, which was to be neither the one nor the other, but to lead from one to the other—could not be very simple, and he thought his hon. friend tried to solve this riddle by arguing that it would be very much more simple to have the Cabinet system with which they were familiar in this country. That, of course, was going far beyond the limits to which that House was prepared to proceed.

He had a very honest and sincere desire to see this great adventure of instituting self-government in India succeed. He believed it was possible. He did not see any reason why the Indians should not succeed in this task, on one condition—that they would give themselves the necessary training time to master what was involved in learning the practical art of self-government. Given that, he saw no reason why they should not succeed, just as did our Allies the Japanese, who also had no historical basis for the Western institutions, which they had been able to blend with their own traditional principles of government in a way which had produced marked success, and led to the greatness of their country. He would like those who might be impatient, who might wish to see a greater rate of progress than his right hon. friend was prepared to admit, to be warned that there might be dangers which they would have to face in carrying their point, and that unanimity in that House at the present stage did not get them over their difficulties. They would find that this scheme—or some thing like it—was, under present conditions here and now, really the limit of what was attainable. He did not see conditions in the immediate future which would enable them to obtain a greater measure of reform. He was of course not forgetting the recurring intervals at which the present proposals for reform might be increased by means of the Statutory Commission. It would be wise for those who had the

difficult task of judging how much it was well for them to ask to remember that if they wanted reforms they could only get them by purdient and energetic concentration upon them, and that those who had not the statesmanship to accept a good offer when it was made generally paid the penalty by many weary years of waiting in an arid and possibly storm-swept wilderness.

Several other Members also spoke, of whom—

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald declared that the Seeretary of State's Council should be abolished. There could be no satisfactory system of representation for India under the present system of education and unless agriculturists and workmen had their share. The Civil Service should be given a task commensurate with their great political capacity.

Sir John D. Rees urged a speedy carrying out of the proposals of the Report. If the establishment of democracy in India led to a period of Brahmin oligarchy that should not be greatly deplored—Brahmins were the natural leaders of the people of India. The reception of the proposals by Extremists such as *Mr. Tilak* and *Mrs Besant* showed that the proposals were not likely to give away British power in India.

Mr. Cofton wholeheartedly supported the Report. He urged action now.

Captain Lloyd suggested the setting up of a Parliamentary Committee to examine the proposals.

Mr. Chamberlain commended the very satisfactory character of the debate and said the Cabinet had not had time to arrive at a detailed conclusion regarding the Report. The Committees mentioned by *Mr. Montagu* would be appointed and would proceed to India as soon as possible to deal with the questions which were essential to the drafting of the Bill. There need be no apprehension that the Government would go back in letter or in spirit from the declaration of August 20th. He did not pretend that the immediate result of the changes contemplated would be to increase the efficiency of Government of India. Progress in India must be through mistakes.

Commander Wedgwood declared that the Report was based on a genuine desire to see India become a nation. He was glad that the House had unanimously received the proposals as the right thing to do.

Mr. Denman regretted that no progress was possible until the Committee reported and suggested that the main fabric of the structure should be set up and the details filled in by an Order in Council.

In winding up the debate *Mr Montagu* said that the wholehearted acceptance by all speakers of the principle of Self-Government for India was a remarkable fact in the history of the House and India. He did not see how it would be possible to introduce legislation this year owing to the necessity for giving an ample time for discussion and the difficulty of drafting the Bill. He hoped that the reports of the two committees to be appointed would be received early next year. He emphasised that the Government though it could not hurry, would not pause in carrying out the policy contained in the announcement of August 20th.

House of Lords—August 6, 1918.

Debate in the House of Lords.

Lord Sydenham drew attention to the report of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State on Indian reforms, and moved for papers. It was most unfortunate that before the present Secretary of State assumed office he made some caustic and not very well-informed criticism of our rule in India, and the result was that his official declaration was quite naturally coupled with his previous unofficial utterances. This has aroused the most exaggerated expectations throughout India. He could not help thinking that the visit of the Secretary of State to India at a time when this country was fighting for its life was a real misfortune. It had the effect of stimulating throughout India a very dangerous agitation, and incidentally of lowering the high office of the Viceroy in the eyes of the Indian population. He also regarded the manner of the presentation of the report as somewhat irregular.

He warmly welcomed some parts of the report. The reconstruction of the India Office was long overdue, and any proposal in that direction should be carried out at once. He believed that to give a federal form of Government to India was essential to the self-government of India. The arrangement of electorates and seats and the reconsideration of the franchise in certain cases were the most important and necessary steps and ought to be taken at once. He was sorry to see that the report ignored protests and warnings

from many parts of India, which deserved consideration. Surely the report might have devoted at least one paragraph to the working classes of India, who represented the majority of the people of India. As far as he could see a quarter of a million of people wished to rule the millions of India. Was that democracy? The report said that the war had accelerated the demand for Home Rule. That was so, *because the little band of Home Rulers had through German influence tried to raise trouble in India.* It was difficult for the people of this country to follow the events in India owing to the meagreness of news due in a large measure to the war. The moral seemed to him to be this that owing to the weakness of Government in recent years in India, the margin of safety was now very small. There never was a time when it was more necessary to carefully scrutinize any proposed changes of Government. The scheme set up a system which would have the effect of destroying the present high standard of the Indian Civil Service. If that deteriorated he did not see what we should have left to keep our hold on the affections and respect of the masses of India. He believed the position of Governor would become quite intolerable, and that no man who understood the situation would accept the office. The general effect of this very complicated scheme must be a long delay in public business, frequent conflicts between the two Houses, and a weakening of the high position of the Viceroy. There would be enormous opportunities opened out for intrigues. In his view of the Report under it the authority of the British Government would be weakened all over India at a time when that authority was more than ever needed. Have we any right to force on India a form of democracy which the greatest democracy in the world would not tolerate?

It Would Cause Chaos.

The main fault he found with the whole of the Report was that it ignored the genius of the Indian people and was mainly a *concession to a denationalized intelligensia.* Mr. Tilak had said of this scheme that "it was entirely unacceptable and would not satisfy anybody." These proposed reforms would be *abhorrent to the gallant Indian soldiers* who had fought in this war when they came home and yet it was on the achievements of these fighting men that the intelligensia based their claim to rule. He firmly believed that these proposals would cause chaos. The Report contained some admirable sentiments which might divert attention from some of its dangers. Excellent advice was given to every class in India. The pity was that it would never reach those classes and would not have the

slightest effect if it did. The authors of the Report could not have realized the chasm which separated the Hindu, the Moslem, and the Brahmin and others, a chasm which was formed hundreds of years ago and was still deep. They believed that representative institutions would tend to soften the rigidity of the caste system; but that system went back a thousand years and had been intensified in our own day. The catastrophic possibilities of this contention among a population of 315 millions did not seem to have occurred to the authors of the Report. Russia was now giving a most appalling object lesson as the result of the break-up of centralised authority, and the effect of the weakening or destruction of British rule in India must be even more disastrous, because the antagonisms—social, religious, and racial—were far deeper. It was only the authority of the British rule which now stood between the people of India and the welter of bloodstained crime caused by the break-up of the Mogul Empire. The difference between Russia and India to-day was British rule and nothing else. He hoped the Government would hand the Report over to some competent examining body. He moved for the following papers:—(1) The opinions of the local Governments on Indian Reform: (2) a selection of addresses—giving opinion on both sides—to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State; (3) the Report of Mr. Justice Rowlatt on Sedition in India.

Lord Carmichael said whether we liked it or not, the demand for political reforms and for self-government would go on in India, and whether we liked it or not, there would be political changes, and he had no hesitation in saying that the changes would be in the direction of self-Government. In his opinion India was not fit at this moment for self-government but many Indians were fit for it, and we should do right if we did our best to make all Indians fit for it. India was not like this country before the first Reform Bill, nor like our Colonies were before we gave them self-government. Many difficulties lay before us, but it was something to know that in facing them we were all agreed that the path of progress was to be in one direction. We were pledged to start in that direction as soon as possible. There could be no swerving from the path which led to responsible Government. But it seemed to him that first they wanted to know what the scheme of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy was. Until they knew that in greater detail they ought surely to refrain both from condemning or approving it. Indians generally were of opinion that a solemn declaration made on behalf of the Government was meant to be acted upon. If we rejected the scheme which was a fair presentment of the Indian view, without putting forward arguments

which the people of India would understand, what would be the result? It would be said that we had flouted the Viceroy, the Secretary of State, and the Leader of the House. Many Indians would consider that we had committed as bad a breach of faith as any Government had ever been guilty of.

The Marquiss of Crewe said that he listened to the speech of Lord Sydenham with some feeling of depression. The noble Lord seemed to view the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in a spirit of almost unrelieved gloom although he admitted there were passages in it which he regarded with sympathy. His lordship had remarked that the Report involved a departure from the principles which were laid down by Lord Morley in 1909. It appeared to him unjust criticism to say that the Morley-Minto reforms introduced nine years ago had failed. The circumstances had been altered by this world cataclysm in a manner no human being could foresee. Lord Sydenham had made various polite references to the advance towards self-government in India but he had not indicated in terms any plans by which he desired to move in that direction. He was prepared to run the risk of attempting some freedom of provincial government in certain circumstances. He was prepared to allow people to make their own mistakes to some extent, provided that these mistakes were not made on a scale or at a cost which would be serious to the people of India as a whole. He did not deny that there might be a sacrifice of efficiency and some cost. That might be the penalty which had to be paid for entrusting people with the management of their own affairs. He thought that Lord Sydenham took too gloomy a view when he foreshadowed something like a permanent hostility to the Government on the part of the Legislature with its elective majorities. He had always rather dreaded the principle of veto. The veto was a weapon which could rarely be used, if it could be used at all. No doubt it could be used more in India than in Australia or South Africa. But it was a weapon which became blunted by use. The Report was undoubtedly complicated in appearance, but he thought that those who studied the various alternatives would begin to favour it more the more they went on. It was no doubt in one sense a leap in the dark, as all great propositions for reform must be. And he could well understand any man who loved India, and who knew what India owed to the British Crown, asking himself whether if the main lines of the Report were followed, we should be travelling on a road which led towards the separation of that connexion. It was not to be supposed that any Englishman who belived in our service to India, or

any Indian of moderate opinion who held a similar view, would desire to proceed on that road. All the Indian reformers with whom he had the honour at different times of discussing this question had expressed themselves absolutely convinced that so far as it was possible for a man to look ahead the idea of the separation of India from British influence, and to a large extent from British control, was a possibility that they would regard with horror and which they did not believe existed. He regretted that Lord Sydenham took a view so unfavourable to the visit of the Secretary of State to India at the request of Lord Chelmsford. As his noble friend knew, the Secretary of State was not responsible for that; the original invitation was addressed to Mr. Chamberlain. He could not think that the studious care that the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Montagu) took all the time he was in India to play second fiddle, and the fact that he accompanied the Viceroy to some of the great centres, would have done anything to depreciate the unique position of the Viceroy. Without committing himself to any particular proposal or paragraph in the Report, he could say with the utmost confidence, having studied the subject with some degree of care, that it had his full concurrence.

Lord Harris speaking of his experience in India recognized that reforms of some kind were absolutely necessary. The Government had before them the proposal of two officials, who no doubt had taken a great deal of evidence in India, but surely they were bound also to take into consideration the views of those voiceless millions, who, so far as they knew at present, had not had the opportunity of expressing their views as to what would be the effect of such a wide-reaching idea as that underlying the Memorandum. The authors of the Memorandum had jumped over local affairs and gone into the more advanced sphere of government. He should have thought it would have been possible to give wide powers in the direction of reforming district councils. Such a reform would have educated the people of India by degrees up to a capacity for administration of more important affairs. We ought not to stand in the way of giving to India such a reformed system of government as she is capable of enjoying for the benefit of the masses of her people.

Lord Lamington said that he had thought that he Secretary of State went out to India with preconceived views, and that the Report was framed in such a way as to reconcile itself to his views; but he confessed that having now had time to read the Report, it did not seem to contain so many dangers as he had

at first thought. Personally he would be only too glad to see the day when, under proper conditions, they could safely entrust a far greater share of the administration of India to the Indian people themselves.

Lord Islington, Under Secretary for India, speaking on behalf of the Government, said he thought that an examination in detail of the scheme at the present juncture was not really desirable and would not serve any useful purpose. There were outstanding questions of such importance as the system of the franchise to be adopted in India for the election of members to the proposed revised legislature, the character of the services which it was proposed to transfer to Ministers nominated from the Legislative Council, and the amount and extent of the modification of control exercised by the Secretary of State and by the Government of India. Any scheme which left still undetermined provisions on such vital points as these can for the time only be regarded in the light of a skeleton scheme. Then the Government, owing to the war, had been unable up to now to give consideration to the scheme, and he was not, therefore, in a position to state the opinion of the Government on the Report. The issues involved in the scheme were of great importance to India and to the Empire. Its success depended on the close consideration of the provisions both in principle and in detail. He trusted, therefore, that a reasonable period for consideration under the circumstances would not be mistaken or misrepresented in India as any attempt on the part of the responsible authorities in England to postpone it, or that it would be thought they had exercised dilatory action. The Government, after consideration, had authorized the Secretary for India to appoint two committees to deal with the subjects outstanding in the Report, in paragraphs 225 and 238. Those two Committees would consider first, questions of franchise and constituencies, and, secondly, which services were to be transferred to the provinces and which were to remain under the Government of India. Only by reforms undertaken at an early date could we retain the loyalty of the people of India. All responsible authorities in India were unanimous in thinking that, whatever else took place, it would be fatal to put off any longer an unmistakable declaration in India of our future policy. It was incumbent upon the Government, if they were not to be charged with the greatest breach of faith in the history of the Empire, to adopt a scheme of constitutional reform in India at the earliest possible date. He admitted that some of the proposals were

susceptible of improvement and modification. As soon as it was decided by the Cabinet that Mr Montagu should go to India to consult with the Viceroy, a committee was set up in the India Office to work out the outlines of a scheme consistent with the announcement that had been made. That committee consisted of the highest officials in the India Office, of members of the Council of India, and of more than one official in England at that time who occupied a high position in the administration of India. The recommendations of that committee constituted the starting point of the discussion in India and formed the material for what was now known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. In their deliberations Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy were continuously and closely assisted by members of the Government of India and members of all the various local Governments. The Report was really the result of the collaboration of gentlemen intimately connected with the affairs and the sentiments of India. He believed that it would be found that this scheme in its broad outlines, subject to modifications and improvements, would present fewer difficulties and carry out in closer fulfilment the announcement referred to, than any other scheme likely to be devised. The proposals of the Government should not be regarded as a reward to India for her services in the war. Such a view as that would be deeply resented in India itself. They should rather be regarded as the inevitable consequences of the recognition of the new position and status which India had attained within the Empire during the war. It was not overstating the case to say that some of the campaigns essential to our victory in this war could not have been successfully conducted without India's supply of men and materials.

Lord Donoughmore said he had been privileged to take part in most of the discussions in India on which the Report was based. Lord Sydenham was very extreme in his condemnation of the scheme, though he thought the Government could congratulate itself that the course of the debate had not followed on exactly the same lines, and that the noble Lords who were not favourable were at least ready to suspend their judgment. He was convinced that the statement of the two Committees would have excellent effect.

The Marquiss of Salisbury said that they had been told that the Report had not been approved by them. He desired to say on his own behalf and that of his friends that they must reserve complete liberty of action not merely as to details, but as to the principle of the Report.

Earl Curzon replied that his noble friend was entitled to make the reservations that he had made. He did not think the situation was really open to misunderstanding. Lord Islington made it clear that the Cabinet had not had time to discuss it. Their inability to make up their minds was not merely due to the great pressure resulting from the war, but was due to the fact that they had not yet received informations to enable them to make up their minds. For instance they had not had the opinions of the local Governments of India. They would also have the reasoned opinions of the Indian Government, and there were in addition important sections of the religious communities in India who would pronounce upon the scheme. Further, in this country there were important associations which in the next few months would acquaint them with their views. The two committees were really appointed to carry out the work which the Secretary of State and his colleagues would have done had they had the time.

The Earl of Selborne suggested that when the Government were prepared with their recommendations to Parliament for consideration it would be a convenient way of dealing with the matter by the aid of a Select Committee of the two Houses.

The Earl of Curzon said that the suggestion of the noble lord was one worthy of consideration. It had been before the minds of the Government and no doubt at a later stage an announcement would be made on the subjects.

The motion of Lord Sydenham was, by leave, withdrawn.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—July 31, 1918.**Indian Currency.**

R. Gwynne asked the Secretary of State for India :
was the current price in rupees to-day paid for a sovereign
Bombay and for an ounce of silver bullion.

Montagu : According to the latest information received
the price of sovereigns was about Rs. 19, and the quotation
silver Rs. 115 per 100 tolas fine.

Gwynne asked whether the Indian mints were now
making Indian silver bullion or bangles ; and on what terms.

Montagu : The Indian mints are coining silver bullion.
It is at present being purchased for coinage at the equivalent
of one dollar per ounce, 1,000 fine, both in America and
in India. The output of the Bawdwin mines in Burma is being
under contract at the same price. In April last the
Government of India bought up the available stock of bar silver
in India at prices ranging from Rs. 109-3 to Rs. 113 per
ounce fine, the rupee fineness being eleven-twelfths. No bangles
were bought.

Gwynne asked whether the Indian mints were now coining
currency for India ; and whether such a currency was
mentioned in the Report of the Indian Currency Commission of
1912 calculated to increase the drain of our gold to India.

Montagu : The Royal Commission saw no objection
in principle, either from the Indian or from the Imperial stand-
point, to the establishment of a mint for the coinage of sovereigns
and half-sovereigns. The special circumstances which have
prevented the minting of a gold coin other than the sovereign
are explained in the answer which I gave to the question of
a member for East Nottingham on June 26.

Gwynne asked how much gold India had imported from
the United States of America in the past two years.

Montagu : During the two years ending March 31,
1917, gold to the value of £3,371,652 was imported into India
from the United States of America.

Gwynne asked how much gold India had imported in
the last twenty years since her standard of value was changed from
gold to silver in 1898, and how much gold did she import in
the years 1878 to 1898.

Mr. Montagu : £253,625,656 worth of gold was imported into India during the period 1898-1918, and £52,563, 303 worth during the preceding twenty years.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—October 17, 1918.

Rowlatt Commission's Report.

Sir John Jardine enquired about the Report of the Sedition Committee.

Mr. Montagu stated : The Report is dated April 15, 1918. It gives an account of the connected conspiracies in countries outside India. I greatly regret the delay which has occurred in presenting the Report, and I am sure that the House will accept from me an assurance that there was every desire to furnish Parliament at the earliest possible moment with this most important document. Indeed, the suggestion that there had been any reluctance to publish in London what had already been published in India cannot be seriously entertained. The Report was addressed to the Government of India, and when I heard in July last that that government had decided to publish it, I instructed them by telegraph to send me 2,000 copies for presentation to Parliament. I was informed that they would be ready for despatch in August. In reply to a further enquiry in September, I was informed that 1,000 copies had been despatched on Aug. 16. It was only last week that I heard that though the Controller of Printing had made over the copies on the date named for despatch through some unfortunate oversight they had not, as a matter of fact, been actually sent. I immediately arranged for the Report to be reprinted here with all possible expedition, and I hope that it will be ready for presentation in the course of the next week or two. I am not reprinting the maps which are included in the Report as published in India, but they will be obtainable in the copies of the Indian edition when received. In publishing the Report, the Government of India, in the public interest, made a few small omissions which do not in any way affect the arguments or conclusions of the Report. The nature of the slight changes is explained in a resolution of the Government of India which will be published with the Report. The reprint of the Report will follow the Indian text.

Monday, October 21.

Indian Commissions in the Army.

Mr. Cotton asked the Secretary of State for India if he could state how many commissions in His Majesty's army had been granted up to the present to Indians; whether it was proposed to add to the number, and, if so, when and to what extent; what were the names of the recipients and the class and provinces to which they belonged; and what were the conditions as to training which had been decided upon.

Mr. Montagu: I presume that my Hon. friend refers to the scheme for the grant of King's commissions to Indians which the Government of India announced in July last. The first avenue to such commissions is through distinguished service in the War. I understand that with a view to selections enquiries are being made from the various theatres of War in which Indian troops have been or are being employed, but recommendations have not yet reached me. In other cases, the award of commissions will depend on the results of probationary training. The Government of India are engaged in selecting candidates for ten cadetships at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and are nominating probationers for admission to the special military college which they have established in India for training for temporary commissions. So far some forty-four probationers have been nominated.

Sir J. D. Rees: Is it not intended that this concession shall be of a wider character than indicated by the number of forty-four, which would not amount to very much spread over the whole of India?

Mr. Montagu: That only applies to temporary commissions from among those who have not been in the Army. I have not the figures yet about the recommendations from among those who have been in the Army.

Indian Prisoners of War.

Replying to questions by Mr. Cotton and Mr. Alden, Mr. Hope said: I am informed by the India Office that there are 2 Indian officers and 513 rank and file at present prisoners of War in German hands, 2 officers and 13 rank and file have been exchanged, and 9 officers, of whom 8 have since been repatriated, and 60 rank and file, of whom 2 have since died and 16 have been repatriated,

have been transferred to a neutral country. I am informed that the great majority of these prisoners have been transferred to Roumania, the remainder being interned in various camps in Germany. On the whole, their treatment appears to be satisfactory. The number of Indian officers and men prisoners of War in Turkey is 217 and 6,659 respectively, and the number who have been repatriated on grounds of health is 6 and 1,170 respectively. None have been transferred for internment to neutral countries as there is no agreement in force with the Turkish Government for this purpose. The only recent reports on camps in Turkey are those by the representatives of the Netherlands Minister at Constantinople referred to in my reply of the 17th instant to my hon. and learned friend, the Member for Bassetlaw, on seven working camps and hospitals in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. Only a few Indians were interned at these places, the greater number being in the working camps on the Bagdad Railway, in the Taurus, and to the south-east of the Taurus. The latter camps are, unfortunately, not within the districts which the representatives of the Netherlands Legation are entitled to visit. I may add that under the exchange of prisoners with Turkey which is fixed for next month, 700 Indians are entitled to be released.

Sir J. Butcher : Would it be competent for any neutral Power to send representatives to the Taurus to visit the camps there and report ?

Mr. Hope : Up to the present that has been refused, but a further request will be made.

Sir. J. D. Rees : Have any representation been made as to the supply of warm clothing to the Indians now in the uplands of Asia Minor so that they do not suffer in the coming winter ?

Mr. Hope : Oh, yes ; that has not only been ordered but provided, and will, I understand, go out at the first opportunity.

Mr. Cotton. : Will the hon. Gentleman be able to publish the reports of which he spoke in reply to my question ?

Mr. Hope : There is always a difficulty about these because of the conditions laid down, and which have been mentioned on previous occasions.

Mr. Roch : Up to what date do the figures apply as to prisoners in Turkey ?

Mr. Hope : I cannot say that offhand, but I think it is up to quite recently.

Lord H. Cavendish Bentinck : When will be the first opportunity of sending this clothing ?

Mr. Hope : When the repatriation ship sails from Alexandria.

Riots in India.

Replying to Sir John Jardine Mr Montagu gave details of riots in Madras and Calcutta in September last. He characterised the article (in the Indian Daily News about Islam) which caused riots in Calcutta as foolish and offensive.

The Indian Army.

Replying to Mr Yate, Mr Montagu stated that he had endeavoured to secure that officers returning to duty in India from the expeditionary force had received a notice in time to make their own arrangements for remitting money to their families. He would again draw the attention of Govt. of India to that point. He could not undertake to extend to Indian army men serving in India concessions whereby Indian army men serving with the expeditionary force are permitted to take family allowances through the India office because this would involve a heavy increase of work in the accounts dept. of India office, the staff of which was depleted.

Replying to Mr Rees Mr Montagu stated that Genl. Allenby's forces included over 100,000 Indian troops. All accounts testified to the courage, discipline and endurance of all ranks. It was particularly gratifying that new Indian units which replaced European troops sent to the western front rivalled the conduct of even veteran troops and fought in a manner worthy of the high traditions of the Indian army. Mr Montagu recalled the fact that Genl. Allenby himself telegraphed him that Indian cavalry and Infantry had taken a leading and brilliant part in fighting. He was proud to say that the Indian cavalry figured prominently in a long distance ride which led to the fall of Damascus.

House of Lords—Oct. 23, 1918.**Debate on Indian Reforms.**

Viscount Midleton calling attention to the Report on Indian Reforms moved "That it is desirable that a Joint Committee of both Houses be appointed to consider and report thereon." He declared that a proper examination of the question had not been made. Public opinion here should have been made aware whether the Government did or did not approve not merely the principles of progress, but, in some degree, the principle adopted or suggested by the Secretary of State and Viceroy. To this day they had no indication of whether the principle of this scheme commended itself to the Government or not. In the meantime the attention of the people of this country was being focussed upon the scheme put

forward by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford—whether it was going to be accepted by the Government or not—as if it were the only scheme that the Government would consider. It was obviously a case for examination by experts and by a committee. The Government were putting themselves in a position in which, before they had made up their minds as to whether the position were sound or not, they would have to occupy it and not be able to go back upon it. They had a right to press upon the Government one of two courses; either to take into consideration at once the principle of this scheme and declare that it was the only one which they could present to Parliament, or—and this was the alternative he suggested—they should allow the public enquiry to take place in this country, which was almost foreshadowed by the Leader of the House on August 6, and make it possible for such an authority as a Select Committee of both Houses to consider and report upon the scheme. This was an attempt to adapt Western methods, where they were inapplicable, to Eastern sentiments and habits. In order to promote national spirit they were acquiescing in the restarting of abuses which they had spent a century and a half to stamp out. He regarded that as an impossible proposition for this Parliament to undertake. He was anxious that the Government should consider whether there were not some means of achieving the result devised without the same sacrifices. It was desirable to consider whether, in the case of an Empire like India, they should not keep the central power unimpaired in the hands of the British majority, and draw a distinction between the central power and the provincial assembly. He did not take a gloomy view of the future, although he recognised that this attempt to hand over certain subjects entirely seemed to him to be fraught with the greatest danger. If they went so far as granting the franchise, then they must educate those who were going to use it. There was an enormous scope for development of sanitation, and India must deal with this question as well as that of education. He suggested that the Committee should consider whether some of the steps it was proposed to take might not prove to be reactionary. Let them also consider whether there were not other means by which they could associate Indians with their institutions. He begged the Government to consider whether this was the moment for pluming themselves on replacing institutions which had worked well, merely because they could be called bureaucratic by other institutions. After the War there would be great development in this country, and he hoped there would be great developments in India also. It would be tragic if we won the

War in the West and yet be witted with having failed to give freedom in the East. In order to give that freedom they must proceed with caution, and therefore he invited the Government to reconsider the situation by allowing the report on Indian Constitutional Reform to be examined by a Joint Committee of both Houses.

The Marquis of Lansdowne said the argument for further consideration appeared to be irresistible. The proposals spelt, in fact, revolution in Indian Government. What the House was asked to agree to was no mere development of a system already in existence, no mere natural progress along the path of reform, but an abrupt transition from the old to the new. And the proposals were made at a very critical time in the History of India, when the margin of safety in the country was none too wide and they were presented while they were still in ignorance on many important points. He complimented the authors of the report on the manner in which they had handled their work, for he had never read a more interesting document or one compiled with greater skill or which contained more interesting suggestions. One of the most attractive characteristics of it was the absolute frankness and sincerity with which many passages admitted the difficulties which lay in the way. But how far were the Government committed to the scheme ?

He associated himself with the sentiment in the report that Indians should be more closely associated with the Government and with the development of Self-Governing institutions. But his doubts began with the third limb of the policy of 1917. They found at the end of the announcement this intimation that the goal at which we should aim was the earliest realisation of full representative government. That was an intimation which SEEMED TO HIM TO BE FULL OF DANGER. India was to have full representative government which would entitle her eventually to be on an equal footing with the other self-governing units of the British Commonwealth, and machinery was to be set up by which the whole system was to be examined and overhauled after an interval of time, in order that it might be tested by the democratic standard and tuned up to a democratic feeling. That seemed to him to amount to an invitation to place ourselves at the top of an inclined plane with the full knowledge that at the bottom of it we should find unmitigated democracy. He viewed with the utmost apprehension the idea that we should accept a proposition of that kind. He profoundly distrusted the idea of imposing Western democratic institutions on motley congeries of peoples who had very little in common except that they were Eastern and not Western peoples.

They were, to use a phrase which was not his own, Asiatics apart, dominated by Asiatic ideas. Towards the end of the report there was a very attractive picture of a great British Empire in which eventually India was to find her place alongside the Self-governing British Dominions.

Self-governing Dominions were British to the back bone and would remain British; India was Eastern to the back bone and would remain Eastern. She would remain a country to be judged by Eastern standards and compared with other Eastern countries, and she would remain unmoved, except on the surface, by Western democratic ideas. Caste was one of the greatest difficulties which Indian reformers had to encounter, and he found nothing in the Report taking that into account. Could they imagine the Self-governing institutions prevailing in Canada or Australia working as smoothly as they did if they had anything like the caste system of India? Another weak point in the scheme seemed to be, the manner in which the Native States were dealt with. They were told that this great boon was to be given to India as a reward for practical co-operation in the war. He yielded to no one in his admiration for the manner in which India had played her part in the great struggle. But he was not quite convinced that the way to reward those who had been fighting so gallantly for us was to reward them with democratic institutions.

In the pursuit of this great democratic goal—they ran the risk of losing sight of a very different goal—the goal for which great Indian administrators of the past had always striven. He meant the goal at which they found peace and prosperity, contentment, freedom from risk of invasion, freedom from pestilence, and protection against the tyranny of the usurer. That was the goal of the old Indian administrators, and that was the goal which to his mind mattered most. He did not believe that they would get any nearer to that goal by attaching great patches of European veneer to an Oriental system. There were one or two danger points in the proposals. The outstanding danger point seemed to be that the whole object of the reform was to convert these legislative councils, armed as they were now with the powers of discussion and criticism, into Parliaments on the European model. He placed no great confidence on the safeguards which had been provided. Such a plan always meant the same thing, giving something with one hand and trying to take back a great deal with the other. If they succeeded in taking a great deal back, they created indignation. If they did not get it back

their safeguards were not worth the paper they were written upon. He could not conceive an arrangement more likely to lead to the general embarrassment of all concerned—the Viceroy, local Ministers, and the Legislative Council itself—than that outlined in the report.

He was much afraid that the adoption of the proposals would be the destruction of the Indian Civil Service as they had known it in the past. Than that Service the Empire had no more splendid asset; there was no Service of which the record had been more distinguished. It was quite clear, indeed, that the authors themselves knew in their hearts that there was no room in the scheme for the Indian Civil Service that they had known in past years. He thought it was likely to be done to death politically. Hitherto the strength of the Service had lain in the fact that its authority was unchallenged. The district officer depended on the support of the Government, and he got that support as long as he did his duty. Would he be equally sure of the support when his Departmental chief might be an Indian, and when the greater part of his colleagues were Indians? He could conceive no greater misfortune to India than that in that country British rule should no longer be interpreted by British agents.

Lord Sydenham said he could not help feeling that the time chosen for the announcement of the new policy was peculiarly inopportune. A very dangerous Revolutionary movement with German support was in full operation, and a serious organised rising had been discovered and frustrated just in time. It would not have been difficult to say that until the War ended, a great radical change in the Government of India could not be considered. Instead of that, every Indian malcontent was given to understand that great concessions were in near prospect. The Report had raised the most extravagant hopes among the agitators and created widespread alarm among the people who furnished most of the revenue of India, and who were beginning to be afraid that we were about to abandon them. A startling feature of the Report was the absolutely frank admission by the authors of the most striking facts and the ignoring of those facts when they came to substantive proposals. One result of the narrow basis of representation was that no less than 48 per cent of the seats of the Legislative Councils of India were held by lawyers. That was a misfortune in any country but was really a disaster in India, where the interest of the legal profession and the agricultural masses were always in violent conflict. Under the system of representation non-Brahmin Hindus had no chances

whatever of taking any part in the affairs of their country. Was it to be wondered at that the non-Brahmins population were beginning to be most seriously alarmed? It was a little difficult to take some parts of the Report seriously. The prestige and power of the district officers, who had often been made the targets of unjust criticism, must be maintained.

The Government reply.

Lord Islington. Under Secretary for India, said he did not propose to follow in any detail the discussion, which had ranged over a wide field. The Report which was the subject of analysis and discussion was quite incomplete at present. As he understood it, the main charge in regard to procedure was that the appointment of the two Committees about to arrive in India and their enquiry in India ought not to have taken place until His Majesty's Government had considered and approved of the Report. His answer was that these Committees had been instructed to go to India in order to report on subjects which were really an integral part of the scheme. The Government required the whole scheme to be submitted to them before they gave their considered opinion upon it. He repudiated the suggestion that by the procedure which had been adopted the Government and Parliament, and possibly the country, might be committed to a particular line of policy from which it would be difficult to withdraw. The elaboration of a particular scheme in detail did not necessarily commit the Government, nor the country to it if hereafter it was found, on close and further investigation, that an alternative scheme was preferable and Parliament was satisfied that that was so. Apart from that, he submitted that it would be quite unreasonable to ask the Government to devote their time to these questions, when every one throughout the country and the Alliance was demanding of them undivided attention to the War. There was another vital aspect of the scheme which had not been very closely alluded to, and that was in regard to the future organization of the India Office, and the relation it should bear to the Central and Provincial Governments of India, and the extent to which, and the method by which, it should bear relation to the Imperial Parliament. Those questions would require the most careful investigation, enquiry, and deliberation. An outside Committee had now been appointed to deal with this matter and report. This Committee would at an early date commence its work, and the Government would be able to report the result of its labours at a time which would coincide with the Report of the other Committees.

Those reports would constitute a comprehensive scheme, and then it would be possible for Parliament and the country to form a really considered opinion on the proposed reforms. For those and other reasons he strongly urged that the right moment to set up a Parliamentary Committee was after, and not before, the Bill was introduced. The Viceroy had been compelled to refuse passports to Indians who wished to put before Parliament and the public their views on Indian reform. It would be highly inconvenient if a Select Committee were to be sitting in this country in the next few months while that restriction would remain in force. Only the other day the Viceroy promised that as soon as circumstances permitted every facility would be given to enable deputations and representatives of different classes of opinion in India to visit this country and lay their view before representatives here. He thought therefore, it would cause a great deal of misunderstanding if a committee were appointed now to take evidence and Indian deputations, owing to the emergencies of the War, were unable to come over and take a share in the proceedings.

When the Government had introduced the Bill and it had been read a second time *it should be Referred to a Select Committee* consisting of representatives of both Houses specially appointed to take evidence. Evidence could then be taken from Indian deputations and from all groups of people who desired to advance their views. At this juncture he did not intend to attempt anything in the nature of a detailed analysis of the points raised in the course of the debate. He hoped that his action in that respect would not be misunderstood in India, and that it would not be thought that because he did not enter in detail into any attempted defence of the Viceroy's Report, he in any way accepted the criticisms that had been made on many of the proposals in that Report during the debate. He ventured to point out that it was incumbent upon the Government and upon this country faithfully and with sincerity to interpret the announcement of August 20 last. He believed that the more exhaustive the enquiry made by their lordships the more it would be found in the end that, with all its imperfections and shortcomings, the scheme embodied in the Report would probably present less objections than any other scheme that was put forward. Indians who had resided in British India had become accustomed to certain standards and customs associated with our rule, the continuance of which would not be guaranteed if such a drastic change were made as indicated in the only counterproposal he had the opportunity of discovering—that with which Lord Syden-

ham was closely associated. That scheme seemed to him to be a very inadequate interpretation of the announcement of August 20. He suggested that when the two committees had reported, the Cabinet had thoroughly considered their reports, and the Bill had been matured, there would be ample time and opportunity for their Lordships' House and the country to give full consideration to the scheme in its entirety. If that view was acceptable to their Lordships the motion might be amended in order to provide for the appointment of a Select Committee to consider a Bill, rather than a Select Committee of both Houses to criticise a Report of officials which had not at present been approved by the Government.

Viscount Bryce admitted that this was, as the Reports stated, an extraordinary experiment—an experiment which entrusted many millions of people with functions and duties which had taken the process of centuries to enable the peoples of Europe to discharge... viz., those of finance and administration. The Report recognised briefly but in an appreciative sense the value of Self-governing institutions, but he was disappointed to find that it contained very few proposals as to how Self-government was to be applied. He submitted to the Government that when they came to work out the scheme they should try to see if more could be done to create smaller local Self-governing areas. It was desirable not to be too bold in making experiments. With smaller areas they had a better chance of getting elections to make well and to observe due vigilance in observing the conduct of the members of the governing body. With regard to the motion he deprecated the adoption of any dilatory course which would be sure to be misrepresented in India. It must be recognised that when they got to a certain point they must go forward. When hopes were excited they could not lag behind in giving effect to them. They all knew that progress must be made in the direction of more Self-government, and it was better to go on always making some advance. They had talked a great deal of what would be done after the War. They had acknowledged the spirit in which India had come forward, and it would be most unfortunate if the feeling we spread abroad that we were failing to live up to the promises which had been held out, disappointment would cause discontent, and discontent spread disaffection.

The debate was then adjourned.

The House met again for this discussion on 24th October, 1918 when Lord Crewe opposed the motion and said the war cabinet had

not yet given any decision on the Report. Lord Shelborne supported Lord Middleton's motion.

Lord Donoughmore strongly urged the Indian leaders to make it perfectly clear that they were not connected with the Extremists who were so rightly condemned in the Rowlatt Report, otherwise the British public might be timid in conferring new powers on Indians.

Lord Curzon replying to the debate pointed out that the decision of the Joint Committee now would not be likely to carry confidence, as they would be unable to consult Indian opinion upon the proposals. Enumerating the objections to the course Lord Middleton suggested, Lord Curzon said that the Government would not be in a position to express a final judgment on the scheme of Indian Reforms, until the two special Committees which had been appointed had reported. He suggested that the Secretary of State for India should place his scheme in a draft bill before the Parliament at an early date thus giving the members an opportunity of expressing their views on the various principles of the scheme.

Motion Rejected.

Lord Middleton's motion was rejected by 25 votes to 21

House of Lords, Nov. 15—1918.

Unrest in India.

Lord Sydenham asked question regarding the riots in Madras and Calcutta of September last, and about the Chandravarkar-Beachcroft Internment report, and whether Government did not think necessary a further retention of the War legislations in India, especially in view of the disturbed state of that country.

Lord Islington, Under-Secretary of State, replied that the disturbances in Madras were purely due to economic causes; that Lord Ronaldshay and his colleagues in Calcutta had handled in an admirable manner the riots in Calcutta which otherwise might have been a very serious incident. The acknowledgments made of the conduct of the General Commanding in Calcutta, his staff, and the Commissioner of Police were well deserved.

As regards the Bengal internments, the report of Sir N. G. Chandavarkar and Mr. Beachcroft would be published immediately. The report stated that in 800 out of 808 cases the reasons for the action taken was sufficient. In view of the tortuous webs of intrigue

that had to be unravelled and the nature of the evidence to be obtained when dealing with a widespread conspiracy in war time, the report remarkably vindicated the Bengal Government and the Special Branch of the Police which dealt with the matter and succeeded beyond all expectations, and a tribute was due to the loyalty and devotion of the subordinates of the Crown who carried out a difficult and dangerous task.

Lord Islington emphasised firstly that in Bengal there was undoubtedly an undercurrent of lawlessness and hostility which, unless carefully watched and checked in every way possible, was liable to break out and involve all classes of population in bloodshed. Secondly, that the Government of Bengal, faced with a difficult and critical position, had shown and were showing promptness and decision, while paying scrupulous attention to the feelings of the various sections of the community. Thirdly, it was abundantly clear that the Government of India could not be deprived of the special powers needed to deal effectively with violence and disaffection. He did not say it would be necessary to maintain entirely the war legislation but it was imperative that the authorities should retain adequate means of coping with an extraordinarily difficult situation, which ordinary laws were not framed to meet, and of securing reasonable security to the peoples entrusted to their charge.

House of Commons—Nov. 20—1918.

India's War contribution.

Sir J. D. Rees asked: When will Parliament be asked to assent to the proposal that India shall defray a large share of the cost of the military forces raised in India?

Mr. Montagu replied: I am afraid that action must be postponed until the new Parliament meets.

India's Industrial Development.

Replying to Sir J. D. Rees, Mr. Montagu stated that he had received only a summary of the report of the Indian Industrial Commission. He proposed to arrange for the publication of the Report when he received the copies for which he had asked. When dealing with the Report he would consider the proposals in Sir Charles Bedford's memorandum of August to establish a representative London Advisory Council in connection with the measures relating to the Indian industrial development to co-operate with

similarly constituted Provincial Councils in India. He proposed to take action with regard to the industrial development policy, apart from the general measures relating to the Indian Constitutional Reforms.

Monazite Deposits.

Replying to Mr. Norton Griffiths, Mr. Montagu stated that the Monazite supplies of India were now in British hands. The Government was fully alive to the necessity of preventing the Monazite deposits from falling under foreign control.

House of Lords, Nov. 21—'18.

Sir Reginald Craddock's Dissent on Reforms.

Lord Sydenham asked, whether the dissent of Sir Reginald Craddock to the proposals of Government of India in 1916 and any minutes of the Councils of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy and the opinions of the heads of Provinces and their Councils would be available to Parliament before their report was complete.

Lord Islington replying emphasised that these documents, especially Sir Reginald Craddock's minute, were confidential in public interest. While he could not promise the complete publication of the Reports of Local Governments all materials useful in the discussion would be published. The object of real interest on which all criticism would be focussed was the Bill which would be formulated in due course, considered, and finally accepted by the Cabinet and presented to Parliament. The Bill when it was before the public would supersede the Report and all correspondence. The House should await the Bill, when there would be opportunities of subjecting it to the fullest criticism inside and outside the Parliament.

THE ELECTION AND INDIA.

On Dec. 28, 1918 the votes cast at the General Election were counted. The result proved an overwhelming majority for Mr. Lloyd George's Coalition. The Coalition total amounts to 484, a clear majority of 262, in a House (Commons) of 707 members.

The Asquith section of the Liberal party has been practically wiped out of existence; Mr. Asquith himself has been soundly defeated and with him have gone many of his staunch lieutenants, including that constant friend of India, Mr. Charles Roberts.

A very large proportion of well known friends of India are no longer in the House. Mr. H. E. Cotton's all too brief membership is now at an end; Mr. H. G. Chancellor, Sir Edward Parrot, Mr. J. M. Robertson, and Professor Lees-Smith failed to secure re-election. Amongst others who failed are Col Hugh Meyler, Mr. G. Lansbury, Mr Sidney Webb, Capt, Sidney Ransom, Maj. Graham pole, Mr John Scurr, and Dr G. B. Clerk—all well known in India for the interest they have always taken on Indian matters. Sir Herbert Roberts did not stand. Mr. W. Joynson-Hicks, the champion and spokesman of the Indo-British association, was unfortunately for India re-elected; and so too that ardent supporter of the Montford Reforms, Sir J. D. Rees. Com. Wedgwood and Col. Yate were returned unopposed. Mr. Mc-Cullum Scott, whose speech in the House last session on the German menace to India attracted much attention, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, and Sir Donald Maclean also secured re-election. Amongst the new members is Mr T. P. Bennett of the *Times of India*, Bombay, whose career would undoubtedly be watched with interest in India.

Mr. Montagu was returned by a majority of nearly 6,000 votes over his labour opponent for Cambridgeshire. He must, to a very great extent, depend upon the benevolent influence of Mr. Austen Chamberlain who is to be the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Fortunately Mr. Chamberlain has committed himself very strongly in favour of the Reforms. But the Prime Minister is surrounded and supported by a very vast mass of vested interest, and Capitalists who have great vested interests in India. This makes the outlook rather gloomy for India.

House of Commons—Feb. 17—19, '19.**The Reforms.**

Replying to Mr. Bennet, Mr. Montagu stated that the reports of the Provincial Governments on the reform scheme, views of the Government of India thereon and reports of Southborough Committees would be presented to Parliament.

Replying to questions by Sir J. Rees, Mr. Montagu gave assurance that the Government of India would consider the claims of European subordinate police officers who joined the Indian army reserve of officers to preferential treatment in respect of enlistment in Indian Police.

Regarding the Bombay strike, Mr. Montagu said he was sure the House would sympathise with Sir G. Lloyd at being confronted with such a difficult situation immediately on assuming office and that the House would congratulate him on the result of his action.

Mr. Montagu stated that the recent information from Moscow indicates that H. S. Suhrawardy who was studying Russian in Moscow on the outbreak of war was still living there.

Replying to Mr. Yate, Mr. Montagu stated that the Government of India contemplated the transfer from India of all enemy subjects, interned or uninterned subjects to exceptions for cogent reasons. Mr. Montagu pointed out that the Government of India already possessed statutory powers to exclude or expel aliens.

Mr. Yate draw the attention of the House to the very grave hardships of officers coming home on leave from India owing to high steamer fares. Mr. Montagu replied that the Government of India and he himself had been anxiously considering the matter. He was now consulting the Ministry of Shipping by which fares were fixed as to whether a reduction was at present possible.

Replying to questions by Mr. Wolmer Mr. Montagu stated that the Government of India was considering the extension to Indian army officers of bonus and increases of pay granted to British army officers for the period during which armies of occupations were necessary. Regarding the cancelling of exchange compensation allowance to officers of Indian army, Mr. Montagu referred to his previous reply on this subject and said he was of opinion that the feeling of Indian army officers in this connection was due to lack of appreciation of facts.

The Reforms.

Replying to questions by Mr. Wedgwood Mr. Montagu stated that Lajpat rai would not be permitted to come to England from America at present, but Mr. Montagu would gladly reconsider the matter when peace was signed. Mr. Montagu stated that the Government of India was about to issue a new Arms Regulation, based on the recommendations of the Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council, abolishing all racial distinctions, and enabling all persons of recognised status and character to obtain licences. Mr. Montagu hoped that the Report of the Southborough Committee would be issued shortly. He hoped to introduce the Indian Reforms Bills during the present session. Replying to Mr. Norton Griffiths, Mr. Bridgeman said :—The President of the Board of Trade would gladly cooperate with the Government of India in any practical measure to secure adequate supplies of India's Monazite sand deposits.

Replying to Col. Yate Mr. Montagu stated that he had up to present seen only advance copies of the opinions of Provincial Governments regarding the reform proposals but he expected shortly to receive them officially from the Government of India along with the Government of India's considered views on the whole subject. They would, of course, be presented to Parliament but he was unable to specify the date. In replying to Col. Yate, Mr. Montagu stated that he approved of the Government of India for increasing the scale of pay for the Imperial Police Service based on the recommendations of local Governments. He hoped to announce it shortly when one or two points of detail had been cleared up. Mr. Montagu pointed out that the general scales of pay of the lower ranks of the Police had been considerably improved in nearly all Provinces during recent years.

Replying to Mr. Wedgwood Mr. Amery said :—The Governor was giving attention to the question of the constitution of Ceylon and would submit his recommendations to the Secretary of State in due course.

Replying to Mr. Bennet, Mr. Montagu stated that in view of dearness of food in India, he had urged the Shipping Controller substantially to reduce freights on rice from Burma to India. He had heard that rates had been reduced by an average of 43 per cent compared with November and December. The rate from Rangoon to Bombay was now fixed at thirty rupees per ton subject to a rebate of ten per cent.

Captain Foxcroft :—"Will Territorials who went to India in 1914 many of whom have been in bad stations and away from England ever since although not in an actual theatre of war, receive any special recognition for oversea service."

Mr. Guest replied :—"A comprehensive statement of the conditions of award of all medals for services in the present war will shortly be published and services of Territorials in India will not be overlooked".

Sir M. Dockerel affirmed that Mrs. Besant was about to lecture in Ireland and asked in view of her dangerous activities in India whether she would be prohibited.

Mr. Samuel replied that he was not aware of the matter.

House of Commons—Feb. 24, '19.

The Rowlatt Bills.

Replying to Colonel Yate, *Mr. Montagu* stated that the Government of India had decided to increase the pay of Indian Army Officers by extending to them the bonus and increases of pay recently granted to British Army Officers for the period during which the armies of occupation were maintained. In view of this concession, the Government of India was not prepared to revise the permanent rates of pay.

Colonel Yate asked an assurance that the Government of India in meeting amendment in the Select Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council to the Bills giving effect to the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee would accept nothing in any way tending to weaken the measures considered necessary by the Rowlatt Committee.

Mr. Montagu replied that beyond the proposal to limit the the Emergency Powers Bill to three years he was aware of no change in the views of the Government of India with regard to this legislation. The Government of India, however, had announced in the Legislative Council that they would endeavour to meet in the Select Committee any reasonable amendments that did not destroy the effectiveness of the measure. Mr. Montagu said he considered that the Government of India in this regard had exercised a wise discretion.

House of Lords—Feb. 26, 1919.

LORD SINHA TAKES SEAT.

Lord Sinha took his seat in the House of Lords with traditional ceremony. He was sponsored by Lords Islington and Carmichael. Instead of taking the Oath he only affirmed. Members of Indian staff officers watched the ceremony from the Gallery of the House.

House of Lords—March 4, '19.

In the House of Lords Lord Sinha made his maiden speech in answer to questions by Lord Sydenham.

Lord Sydenham.

Lord Sydenham had the following Questions on the Paper—
To ask the Under-Secretary of State for India—

1. If he can say when the opinions of the Provincial Governments in India on the Report of the Viceroy and Secretary of State will be made available for the information of Parliament and the public.

2. If he can give any information as to the riots at Katarpur last year when, it is stated, a mob of 3,000 Hindus murdered a number of Muhammadans, burning some of them alive, and destroyed their village.

The noble Lord said: My Lords, among the most important proposals in the Report of the Viceroy and Secretary of State for India were those which contemplated the establishment in all the Provincial Governments of a diarchical system. That system is quite unknown to past history and government, and I confess I regard it myself as impracticable and fantastic. It has now been carefully considered by the responsible Governments who would have to carry it out, and I feel sure your Lordships will agree with me that their opinions should be made known as soon as possible to Parliament and to the public. These opinions, I believe, have now been at the India Office for several weeks, and what I urge is that they should be given to us as soon as possible. There is another set of Papers which are not mentioned in my Question but on which I gave private notice to the noble Lord. I hope he will undertake to make public

MAR. 19]

SYDENHAM ON REFORMS



the evidence given before Lord Southborough's Committees which I believe have now finished their work. If this is not done I assure the noble Lord that there will be the greatest dissatisfaction among the non-Brahmin communities in India, which, as your Lordships well know, compose the vast majority of the Indian people.

Lord Islington

Congratulated Lord Sinha on his high office. He had been associated with Lord Sinha in Public work in India and in England for thirty years, and he could easily understand how Lord Sinha had come to occupy very distinguished and responsible posts in connection with India and the Empire for the last ten years. His present post would doubtless present many serious difficulties. Those who knew India would realise that, and none would realise it better than Lord Sinha who had shown characteristic public spirit in accepting the post.

The Question asked by Lord Sydenham is an important one. He asks that the Reports of the Local Governments on the Secretary of State and Viceroy's Report should be published at as early a date as possible, and that full time should be given to Parliament and the public to study and consider that Report. Later on undoubtedly the report of Lord Southborough's Committees will be available for Parliament and the public, but these Local Government Reports stand rather apart from those because they have been considered and drafted by Local Governments mainly in the light of the proposals embodied in the Report of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, and as such must constitute an important part of the groundwork of any scheme which may be ultimately adopted in connection with constitutional reform. In particular, the views of Local Governments will be of the greatest possible importance on extremely urgent questions.

I am confident that a very liberal and definite policy is necessary in this connection. Discontent which undoubtedly has been rife in many parts of India during recent years is, I believe, to be attributable in no small measure to the fact that the Provincial Governments have been unduly checked and controlled by the distant Central Government. I feel that whatever shape constitutional reform may take as the result of discussion in Parliament, if it is to be effected it must be coupled with provincial decentralisation, and that should be on a thorough and comprehensive scale. That is a question which will require very careful study both as regards the opinions and experience of the Central Government and also, equally, as regards the opinions and experience of Local Governments.

There is one other Report which was not alluded to by Lord Sydenham, and on which I should be grateful if the noble Lord could give us some information. It is the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission. This again is a question of absolutely first class importance to India, not excepting even constitutional reform, because the future prosperity of India must in a large measure depend on the extent to which her vast native resources can be manufactured and dealt with by her own people effectively and profitably.

Lord Sinha.

The Under-Secretary of State for India (Lord Sinha) : My Lords, it is with considerable diffidence that I rise this evening to address your Lordships, and I hope I may be not altogether out of order if I begin by thanking my noble friend Lord Islington, from whom I have in the past had a great deal of courtesy and consideration, for the more than generous terms with which he has been pleased to refer to me, and I thank your Lordships also for the very kind reception you gave to the remarks.

With regard to the Question on the Paper by the noble Lord, Lord Sydenham, my task is comparatively easy, because I have only to draw your Lordships' attention to what has been already promised as early as November last by Lord Islington himself and also last month—on February 17 and 19—by the Secretary of State for India in another place. The first set of Papers which Lord Sydenham asked should be published refers to the opinions by the Local Governments on the great scheme known at the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme for constitutional reforms in India. Replying in the House of Commons to a Question put on February 17 and 19 respectively the Secretary of State said :—

“I have at present seen only advance copies of the opinions of Provincial Governments as to the proposals for constitutional reforms, but I expect before long to receive them officially from the Government of India, together with that Government's considered views on the whole subject, and of course they will be presented to Parliament, though I cannot at present specify a date.”

Then, as early as November last, Lord Islington speaking in your Lordships' House, said this—

“The reports from the Local Governments on the Reforms Report and all the material which will be of use in the discussion of this matter, in so far of course as they do not contain confidential

matter, will in due course and without unnecessary delay, be published."

I repeat that assurance, but I cannot add anything further to it. The Government of India's Despatch giving their views on the opinions of the Local Governments has not yet been received, though it is expected that it will not be very long in arriving, probably not later than the end of this month. The Report of the Government of India should then be in the hands of the Secretary of State. As soon as it is received and has been considered by the Secretary of State, it will be placed before parliament.

There is another set of Papers for which the noble Lord asked—the Reports of the two Committees over which Lord Southborough presided in India, and also the evidence which may have been recorded by those Committees. As regards the Reports themselves the Secretary of State has definitely pledged himself to place them before Parliament. The Reports, so far as we know, have not yet been signed—at least our information is that it is only one Report of the Committee, that to determine the electorates, that has been signed. We have no information regarding the others. Lord Southborough and the members of his Committees are, I believe, already on their way back from India, and the Reports will be in the hands of the Secretary of State, I hope before the end of the present month. As soon as they are received they will be placed before your Lordships' House. As to the evidence, all that I am in a position to tell your Lordships at present is that the procedure to regulate proceedings of these Committees was left entirely to the discretion of Lord Southborough and the members of the Committee. It is not known whether they have recorded evidence with a view to publication, and in any case until the return of Lord Southborough and receipt of the Committee's reports it is not possible to give any information on the subject or to publish any evidence that may have been given.

May I take this opportunity of expressing my entire concurrence with what fell from the noble Lord, Lord Sydenham. I also consider that absolute frankness is essential in the consideration of these most important matters ; and so far as the Secretary of State is concerned, and so far as I myself am concerned, I hope that there will be no occasion on the part of your Lordships to complain in that respect. With regard to the documents to which my noble friend Lord Islington referred—namely, the Report of the Indian Industrial Com-

mission—may I remind Your Lordships that it was formally laid before Your Lordships House on February 19 last, and on inquiry of the printers it has been ascertained that copies will be available for circulation on Thursday next by noon. Therefore copies will be available both to Your Lordships' House and to the public on Thursday next. I entirely agree, if I may say so, with Lord Islington as to the importance of this report, and also with regard to the complaint which he has made—though perhaps it is not for me to urge it now—that the Government of India, before this Commission was appointed, could hardly be accused of having been too progressive in industrial matters. It is the earnest hope of all who are concerned in the Government of India, as well as of the Indian people themselves, that effect may be given to the recommendations of this Commission as soon as they have been considered by the Government of India in the first place, and then by the Secretary of State and by Parliament. I can assure my noble friend that, so far as any action on this Report is concerned, the Secretary of State has already intimated to the Viceroy that no action should be taken until the opinion of the Government of India had been received by him, and there will be ample opportunity given to the members of Your Lordships' House to study and consider this Report, and, if need be, to raise any discussion upon it before any action is taken in regard to it. That is, I think, all that I need say at this stage with regard to the first Question on the Paper.

Lord Crewe.

My Lords, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of adding one word to the very full tribute to the services in the past of my noble friend who has just sat down, and the high hopes we all entertain of the work which he is going to do here in the future. I also have had the pleasure of being associated with my noble friend in the past, and I know very well what the value of his services is ; and I think that Your Lordships here, from observing the easy mastery with which he replied to the Question of the noble Lord on the cross-benches and the manner in which he developed the various points which arose out of that Question, will agree that we can look forward with the utmost confidence to the conduct of the very important measures of which he will no doubt have charge in the future in Your Lordships' House.

[Noble Lords : Hear, hear.]

I have practically nothing to add, except to express my great satisfaction at the phrase which fell from the noble Lord op-

posite regarding the necessity of complete frankness and openness in displaying all the facts which may come from India to this country ; and I feel certain, therefore, that he and the Secretary of State will put the closest possible construction on the word "confidential" when he stated that it would be only confidential matter which would be excluded from publication in regard to these Provincial Reports, I can quite believe that those Provincial Reports, or some of them, contain things which, from the mere point of view of the promotion of a particular policy the India Office would just as soon should not be placed on the Table of the two Houses for discussion, possibly with the result of supplying argument to those who may oppose the policy of His Majesty's Governments. But I am quite certain that the India Office will not in any way succumb to a temptation to set aside, or not to reveal, any such statements that may come ; and as a matter of fact, knowing what the general line of the policy of His Majesty's Government is. I think, we may confidently assume that a great deal of approbation in this matter of devolution, of which Lord Islington spoke, is certain to come from all the different Provincial Governments. We can look forward with great interest to the appearance of these Reports, and I sincerely hope that their advent will not be much longer delayed.

Lord Sydenham.

I beg to thank the noble Lord for the answer he has given me, and especially for his promise—which I know he will carry out—that there shall be greater frankness on the part of the India Office in future. I have now to ask the Under-Secretary of State the second Question standing in my name—whether he can give any information as to the riots at Katarpur last year when, it is stated, a mob of 3,000 Hindus murdered a number of Muhammadans, burning some of them alive, and destroyed their village.

There is a very great difficulty at the present moment in watching events in India. I do not know whether the Censor is still at work, but I see in private letters allusions to happenings which never appear in our public Press, and it does not seem to me as if we were not quite sufficiently informed as to what is going on in India. Since it was known that the Secretary of State would make large concessions to Home Rulers there have been certain distinctly unpleasant symptoms in India. There were riots in the three great Presidency towns, and in all cases there was some evidence of political inspiration. As to Bengal, the Government of Bengal itself has said so in its resolution as regards the very serious disturbances in Calcutta. As

regards the strikes in Bombay it has been denied, but in a private letter from an Indian who was behind the scenes and who also did his utmost to preserve tranquillity, these words occur—

“Home Rulers were abroad in the mill centres, instigating and assisting the strikers, and asking them to hold on.”

In Rangoon troubles were planned, but were apparently frustrated by the action of Government. Other disturbances have taken the form of organised attack by Hindus upon Muhammadans. To the worst case of that kind the House has already had its attention drawn. That was in Bihar when an area of 1,000 square miles was held up by the rioters for several days. Something of the same kind appears to have occurred at Katarpur on the occasion of the last Bakr-Id ceremonies. From the little I have heard of that case it does seem as if effective steps were not taken in sufficient time, but that impression may be wrong, and if so, doubtless the noble Lord will correct me.

In other cases disturbances which might have been serious have been averted by the prompt action of British Officers. There is some significance to be attached to these happenings, and that significance must not be ignored. The number of Indians who really understand what Home Rule means is, in proportion to the population of India, very small, as the Report of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State admitted. But there is not a bazar in all India where stories that Government is weakening or that Government is afraid would not be understood and would not be believed. That, I am afraid, is what is going on, and in a telegram from Delhi which *The Times* published yesterday there are these words.

“The Extremists appear to be animated by blind hatred of the Civil Service, which constantly finds expression on the platform and in the press. The existence of this rancorous sentiment accentuates the difficulties of the political situation.”

I really fear that the gross calumnies against the Government of India and against everything British which are rife at the present time are becoming a source of growing danger to the peace of India.

Lord Sinha.

My Lords, with regard to the second Question on the Paper, in so far as information has been asked for by my noble friend, I shall proceed to give that information at once. As regards comments, with your Lordships' leave, I will reserve them until I have given the narrative of facts. This Question relates to riots which undoubtedly took place in a village called Katarpur in September

last. The information which has hitherto been received by the India Office from the Government of India has been by cable, and is therefore necessarily meagre. I would have contented myself with giving your Lordships the bare facts as received by us by cable from the Government of India, but I thought it would give satisfaction and to the members of your Lordships' House if I were able to give a fuller account from any other source that was available, and I have accordingly compiled one from a newspaper account of the opening speech of counsel in the prosecution which has arisen out of this case in order that your Lordships may have fuller information as regards the facts.

A serious riot took place in the village of Katarpur, in the sub-division of Roorkee in the district of Saharanpore, on September 18 last, and it is alleged that in the riot at least thirty Muhammadans were killed, sixteen injured, and a large part of the village burnt down. The circumstances which led up to the riot extended over a series of some days. The village is one in which, according to the latest census Report, there were 538 Hindus and 238 Muhammadans, and there is a mosque, or idgah as it is called, in the village. The surrounding villages were in the main what might be called Hindu villages, and the town of Kankhal (also chiefly Hindu in population) as well as the great place of pilgrimage, Hardwar, is also within a few miles of the village of Katarpur.

On September 11, the Bakr-Id festival of the Muhammadans being close at hand, the police moved the sub-divisional magistrate to bind over the leading Muhammadan and Hindu villagers to keep the peace during the Bakr-Id festival, which extends from September 17 to 19 inclusive. They did so, inasmuch as there seemed to be a controversy—which is the usual controversy in these cases—as to whether Katarpur was a village in which cow sacrifice at Bakr-Id was customary or not, and it therefore seemed necessary that precautions should be taken. On September 13, owing to the intercession of local officers, the parties appear to have come to an arrangement by which it was agreed that sacrifices should be quietly performed in the houses of two of the Muhammadans of the village. Later on, however, this agreement is alleged to have been repudiated by the neighbouring Hindus, with the results that on September 17, the first day of the Bakr-Id, a crowd numbering thousands arrived at this village armed with big sticks. The local officers tried to get the people to come to some settlement but, failing to do so, wired to the sub-divisional magistrate at Roorkee to come to

the place and he arrived there on September 11, accompanied by a number of police constables. He found an excited crowd moving about in groups. It was when the local magistrate was present in the village that suddenly some cry was raised which seemed to be the signal for a general attack by the Hindu on the Muhammadans, who were fewer in number, and the huts in the Muhammadan quarter were set on fire by groups of Hindu rioters. The fire stopped in the afternoon, and in the meantime an armed guard had been wired for from Roorkee. This guard arrived, and no further rioting took place. It is said that seventeen corpses were found by the sub-divisional officer, either burnt or partially burnt, and some more corpses were found later inside Muhammadan houses. A number of arrests were made later, and about 100 persons are now on their trial. At the proposals of the Local Government, a Special Tribunal constituted under the Defence of India Act, 1915, presided over by Mr. Justice Tudbull of the Allahabad High Court, was set up for the purpose. The Government of India has promised to telegraph the result of the proceedings as soon as they are finished. Those are the facts with regard to the rioting.

I do not for a moment seek to minimise the significance of these riots ; but your Lordships will have noticed that this particular riot in any case had nothing whatsoever of a political character about it. Unfortunately it is correct to say that these outbursts of religious fanaticism are still common in India, and on the occasion of these festivals, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, you find rioting taking place between the two factions of those communities. It is confined to the lower and poorer classes and, after all, the real remedy for this state of things is the progressive enlightenment and education of those classes, and the closer co-operation of the educated and wealthier classes in both communities for the purpose of getting rid of or preventing these disturbances. This riot had no political significance whatever, as I have already said, and I confess that I am surprised that the noble Lord took this as an occasion to point a moral with regard to the grant of Home Rule, which no one has yet suggested so far as I know, or anything in connection with that. Nor, if I may say so with regard to the three other riots mentioned—in Calcutta, in Bombay, and in Rangoon—is there any reason to suppose they had anything to do with the proposals for constitutional reform, or any reason of a political nature of that kind.

Your Lordships are aware that during the course of the war there has been considerable excitement amongst the Muhammadan

population of India, an excitement which has in some cases and in some Provinces been shared by the Hindus. But to say that any of these riots can be justly ascribed either to the proposals for constitutional reform or to the supposed weakening of the Government, is, I submit, saying something which is not borne out by the facts. So far from the Report, of which so much has been said by the noble Lord, ignoring occurrences of this kind, as I read it—and as I believe most of Your Lordships will have read it—the Report lays special stress on the fact that these religious dissensions still exist, that these religious riots still occur; and it is for that reason principally that they refuse to allow any controll to the Legislative Councils over the departments of government which are concerned with the administration of justice and the preservation of law and order. Therefore it seems to me at any rate, and I submit it with confidence to your Lordships, that to connect these riots—which have existed I am sorry to say for many years; long before any constitutional reforms were thought of—with the Report, or with the supposed concessions which are alleged to be going to be made, is somewhat far-fetched and unfair, if I may say so, with great respect to the noble Lord.

After all, human nature being what it is, outbursts of this kind, however much we may deplore them, will occur from time to time. In countries blessed with one of the noblest religions, one of the most civilising and humanising religions known to the world, we find people fighting with each other, and we find them doing so not for any supposed spiritual benefit but for mere material benefits; and, after all, when these Hindus and Muhammadans fight on the occasions of these religious festivals, they are fighting, not for material benefits, but for what they believe to be the interests of their eternal souls. The only remedy is a closer co-operation of the official with the more educated people for the purpose of spreading enlightenment and education amongst those poorer classes, and the more the people of the country co-operate with the Government and with the official of the Government the greater will be the checks and safeguards for the prevention of these deplorable occurrences.

House of Commons—Mar. 10, '19.

Lajpat Rai.

Colonel Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Indian patriot, Lajput Rai, may yet be permitted to return from America to this country.

Mr. G. Terrel.—Before the Right Hon. gentleman answers, may I ask you, Mr. Speaker, whether it is quite in order to describe a person of doubtful character as an Indian patriot in a question ?

Sir H. Craik.—And may I ask, Sir, whether it is not the case that the person whose name is in the question was deported for seditious and treacherous conduct in India ?—*Colonel Wedgwood.*—He was not deported.

The Speaker.—I don't know anything of this. Everybody calls himself a patriot in these days. (Laughter). *Mr. G. Terrell* asked whether Regulation 58 in Manual of Procedure did not provide that a question may not contain any argument, inference, imputation, epithet or ironical expression and whether the expression in the question did not offend the rule in every way ?—

Commander Bellairs (Maidstone, C. U.)—And may I ask, on a further point of order whether the hon. member is entitled to have ten starred questions on the paper (cheers), and may I point out that he has already asked four supplementary questions ? (Laughter). *The Speaker.*—The remedy is not to call the last two questions on the paper. (Laughter.)

Mr. Fisher.—President of the Board of Education who said he had been asked to answer the question on the paper, replied—The answer is in the negative. If my hon. and gallant friend will repeat his question on the signature of peace, Secretary of State will be glad to consider the matter further. (Cries of "Why ?").

Colonel Wedgwood.—May I ask the right hon. gentleman whether he would take advantage of the opportunity to contradict the allegation (cries of "Order") that this patriot was deported ? (Renewed cries of "Order.")

No answer was returned.

Famine Conditions in India.

Mr. Bennett asked the Secretary of State for India if he had any information as to the extent and intensity of famine conditions now prevailing in India ; how far the winter rains had fallen short of the average ; how many persons had availed themselves of the relief works opened by the State ; how far the present prices of staple food grains were in excess of the normal ; and whether such prices show any tendency to decline.

Mr. Fisher. : "Famine", in the technical sense that relief works have been opened, had been declared in one district in Bombay and in parts of two other districts in the same Province. There is dis-

treß of a less severe character in several other districts in Bombay and the Central Provinces, in two districts in the United Provinces. In November and December there was in India, as a whole, a serious deficiency in the rainfall, resulting in failure of the autumn crops over wide areas and restricted sowings of winter crops. The latter have benefited considerably by fairly general rain. There are about 43,000 persons on relief works. The number is kept down by the good demand for labour on private account. The increase in the price of food grains has varied in different parts of India. As far as can be judged from the figures that have been received, the average increase over normal prices would appear to be about 50 per cent. Prices have not as yet shown a tendency to decline.

Sir J. D. Rees asked the Secretary of State for India whether recent seasons in India had been bad, and, if so, how many in succession; whether the fact was that, owing to the Government system of famine relief, the population in India were saved from suffering and death resulting from successive bad seasons; and whether it was desirable that the use of the word "famine" should be abandoned, such famines as existed being of money and not of food, which, either by purchase or by gratuitous Government distribution, was always available.

Mr. Fisher: The Secretary of State does not think it is the case that recent seasons in India as a whole, have been bad. During the War, until the failure of the monsoon rains of 1918, the harvests have been generally good. The relief systems established in India is intended to, and does in fact, alleviate privation and its effect on the death rate. "Famine" in the Indian relief codes is now a technical word, denoting that the point has been reached at which the full machinery of relief is started. The term is well understood, and the Indian Government prefer to retain it.

Sir J. D. Rees: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that though the technical signification of the word "famine" is well understood in India it is totally misunderstood in England and is it not perhaps desirable that its use should be discontinued?

An Hon. Member: Will the right hon. Gentleman say what is the annual income of the ryots of India, who form the main bulk of the population?

Mr. Fisher: I must ask for notice of that.

Limitation of Rowlatt Bill.

Repling to Mr Wedgwood in the Commons Mr Fisher stated

that Mr Montagu has requested the Govt. of India to supply as soon as possible a return of the number of persons interned and imprisoned without a trial in India during the war and the number released since the armistice.

Replying to Mr Rees Mr Fisher stated that Mr Montagu was unable to add anything to the Viceroy's reply to Goallior's address in the Dehli Conference. Mr. Yate affirmed that the Govt. of India in proposing to limit the Rowlatt legislation to three years would throw an unfair burden on their successors owing to violent agitation that certainly would arise against the renewal of legislation at the end of 3 years. Mr Yate suggested that Mr Montagu should suggest to the Govt. of India the advisability of reconsidering the proposal. Mr Fisher replied that Mr Montagu did not propose to adopt the suggestion.

Rowlatt Bill.

In the House of Commons replying to Mr. Swan, Mr. Fisher stated that the Secretary of State regretted that the existence of the anarchical revolutionary movement in India necessitated the passing of a new Crimes Act. He emphasised that this action had been taken after careful consideration on the avowed advice of an influential representative commission, and the Government of India was satisfied that it was essential to peace and security that Government should be armed with these exceptional powers to be applied only in areas where anarchical and revolutionary crime was proved to exist. The Secretary of State was not prepared to disregard the finding of this Commission and the views of the Government of India, by advising His Majesty to disallow the act. Mr. Fisher emphasised that this legislation did not reflect on, and its necessity was not affected by, the splendid loyalty of Indians generally and it would affect only a small portion of the population to which it applied.

Demobilisation of Indian Army.

In the House of Common replying to Mr. Ramsden Mr. Fisher stated that the Indian Army was demobilising as rapidly as circumstances permitted. About a quarter of a million combatants had already been discharged. It was proposed to retain with colours in India a force sufficient to provide for normal requirements of India and to keep up the strength of Indian troops employed in the occupied territories and Colonial stations. Demobilisation within practicable limits was favoured by the Govt. of India and public opinion in India.

Replying to Mr. Yate Mr. Fisher stated that any gratuity granted to British and Indian army officers at the termination of war would be payable to the estates of deceased officers.

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON INDIAN MATTERS.

On April 1, 1919 a meeting was held of Members of Parliament interested in Indian Affairs. It was decided to form a strong Parliamentary Committee (non-official) to assist in the passage of the Bill for Indian Constitutional Reforms, and to afford full facilities to delegations from India to state their views in public and in proper quarters. The committee appointed consist of Sir J. D. Rees (Chairman), Mr. Bennet (Secretary), Mr. A. M. O'Grady, Sir G. Collins, Sir S. Hoare, and Mr. O. Gore.

House of Commons—Interpellations—April, 1919.**Indian Army—April 3.**

Mr. Mallalieu urged the claims to demobilisation of men belonging to the Mesopotamian force who were detailed to Poona early in November to assist in clearing up field accounts of troops.

Mr. Fisher replied that prompt settlement of the accounts of a large number of officers and men on demobilisation depended on trained personnel. The Military Accounts Department was being kept up to full strength. The Secretary of State could not press the Government of India to a course that would destroy the efficiency of the Department, but he would bring the case to the Government of India's notice.

Replying to Sir J. D. Rees, *Mr. Fisher* stated that the question of the postwar strength and composition of the army in India was under consideration.

Sir J. Rees enquired about the strength of the army after demobilisation in the East.

Mr. Churchill: Indian troops in the Middle East, Egypt and Palestine and in Mesopotamia were being reduced to 206,500, 42,750 and 63,000 respectively. These figures were the establishment of Indian troopers which were being maintained in armies of occupation.

Colonel Yate suggested that in view of the large number of British troops in these theatres who ought to get relief, demobilisation of Indians who had more recently enlisted ought to be less rapid.

Mr. Churchill replied that the composition of all our forces depended on a certain proportion being maintained of British and Indian troops, and this must be done irrespective of the relative claims of British and Indian troops to demobilisation.

Kut Officers—April 5.

Lord Wolmer asked what provision had been made for Kut office-taken prisoner who had incurred large expenses from private means in order to keep themselves alive.

Mr. Foster referred to the arrangements for issues from British relief fund by the Dutch Minister in order to cover extra expense. Where officers could show that the necessary expenses exceeded the amounts of such grants besides advances by the Turkish Government, any claim which might be submitted showing extra expense would be favourably considered.

Railway administration—April 2.

Mr. Fisher in reply to a question by Sir J. D. Rees stated that Mr. Montagu had proposed that as soon as convenient after the war there would be an enquiry in India regarding the desirability otherwise on administrative and financial grounds of modifying the present management of Railways in India which were owned by the State, but worked by Companies domiciled in England, by incorporating the lines in existing State-worked systems, or converting them into separate State-worked lines or handing them over to Companies domiciled in India.

April 9

To a question by Mr. Bellairs *Mr. Fisher* in reply stated that the Secretary of State was not aware that the standard of efficiency in Indian Railway Administration was relatively low or that famine relief measures were impeded by the inability of Railways to carry supplies but with a view to ascertaining what improvements were possible he had already arranged with the Government of India for a comprehensive inquiry by the Committee into the whole question of management. The Committee would doubtless take into account any legislation dealing with transportation that Parliament might enact and would consider whether similar arrangements were applicable to India. The Secretary of State entirely agreed with the questioner regarding the necessity for avoiding Departmental competition.

Replying to Mr. Bennett, *Mr. Montagu* pointed out that the original scheme for the Indian Railway Board had been modified in the light of experience. It had been found desirable to introduce a non-railway element in view of the administration and financial problems with which it had to deal, and the Presidentship was open equally to Railway and non-Railway members, but he thought that the composition of the Board would necessarily be reviewed in the forthcoming enquiry into the management of Indian Railways.

Southborough Report—April 2

Mr. Fisher, replying to Sir J. D. Rees, stated that the Report of the Southborough Committees had not yet been received from the India Government. Mr. Montagu hoped to receive them in the course of the current month and would present them to Parliament without delay.

Delhi Riots—April 8

Mr. Fisher, in reply to Sir J. D. Rees about the Delhi Riots, read a telegram from the Viceroy, dated 31st March, detailing the Riots at Delhi on March 30 last. He added that the Viceroy reported a few days after that there had been no trouble elsewhere up to that date.

Protests against Rowlatt Act—April 10

Mr. Fisher, in reply to a question by Mr. Spoor, stated that Mr. Montagu had received numerous telegrams from individuals and associations praying that the Crown would disallow the Anarchical Crimes Bill, but no telegram purporting to be from the Moderate party as such had been received.

House of Commons—Interpellations—May, 1919.**Indians in Fizi—May 1**

Mr. Montagu in reply to Mr. Bennett stated that he was communicating with the Colonial Office regarding the urgent need for ameliorating the surroundings of indentured Indians in Fizi. He had also communicated to the Colonial office the resolution of the Indian Legislative Council of 11th September, but the cancellation of indentures was not in itself a remedy for the evils complained of. The dearth of shipping would at present prevent the return of released immigrants to India.

Silver Crisis in India.

Mr. Gwynne drew attention to Sir J. Meston's account of the silver crisis in India last year, and what steps Mr. Montagu was taking to avoid such a contingency this year.

Mr. Montagu replied that he had been consulting the Government of India and he proposed to appoint a strong committee to consider and advise him on the difficult currency and exchange problems which were the legacy of the war.

Indian Police

Colonel Yate asked:—As the safety and welfare of Indians largely depend on a loyal and contented Police, will Mr. Montagu suggest to the Government of India the advisability of immediately considering increase of pay to the lower ranks of the provincial Police.

Mr. Montagu:—The question is one for local Governments.

Indian Deputation—May 5

Colonel Yate drew attention to complaints in India regarding the grant of priority certificates to members of Indian deputations proceeding to England in connection with the Reform scheme.

Mr. Montagu replied that the Government of India, in giving facilities to the representatives of different political parties in India to visit England in connection with the Reform Scheme, were discharging a definite obligation which they undertook for good reasons last year when the war was still in progress. The number of Members in each delegation was being kept within very close limits. He felt sure that the Government of India in making good their promise did not neglect the claims of other classes of the community. As demobilisation was temporarily suspended in India some additional shipping accommodation for civilians would probably be available.

Leprosy in India—May 7

Mr. Montagu replying to *Sir John Rees* stated that he was advised that medical opinion was divided with regard to whether leprosy was contagious in all its stages. So far as he was aware no amendment to the Indian Leper Act was contemplated. *Mr. Montagu* also stated that he had not yet received the report of the Indian Cotton Committee, but advance copies were en route.

Public Service Commission.

Replying to *Colonel Yate* with regard to the proposals of the Government of India to carry out the recommendations of the Public Service Commission, *Mr. Montagu* stated that the proposals to increase the pay of the police and the medical service had been carried out and proposals for the reorganisation of the Forest Service and the Financial Department and interim proposals with regard to certain officers in the Educational Services were under consideration. The Government of India's other proposals had not yet been received.

Change in Reforms Policy—May 12

Sir J. D. Rees asked :—Since the Armistice, has there been any change in the policy or attitude of the Government with regard to constitutional reform in India or any other important matter arising from or connected with the pronouncement of August 20th. 1917 :—

Mr. Montagu replied : none whatever.

Passage to Indian Deputation.

Mr. Montagu in replying to a question by *Mr. Yate* about priority certificates granted to Indian Political Delegates in preference to Englishmen and Women, stated that the 347 first class passengers

on the Ormond included only six Indians. There were 607 second class and third class passengers, and no Indians. He was informed that third class accommodation was exceptionally good. The Company had made especial efforts to secure comfort for the third class passengers and undertook that they would have the same mess and use the same deck as second class passengers. Their cabins were fitted with electric fans. He regretted that two children had died on the voyage from pneumonia. He emphasised that every effort was being made to provide sufficient accommodation for passengers from India. He understood that the Government of India was satisfied with the amount of accommodation, and there was nothing wrong in granting passage to the Indian Delegates.

Mr. Yate pointed out that priority certificates were given to Indians while there were women and children in the third class (cheers).

Mr. Montagu replied.—*Mr. Yate* does not regard the passage of Indian Reforms through the Commons as urgent. I do.

The Indian Budget—May 15

Mr. Bonar Law stated that the Indian Budget would be taken on May 22nd.

In the Lords, replying to Lord Sydenham, Lord Peel stated that a despatch from the Viceroy containing opinions of Provincial Governments on the Montagu-Chelmsford report would be formally presented within a week and copies would be ready soon afterwards.

India's War Expenditure—May 19

Mr. Fisher stated in reply to *Mr. Griffiths* that including the hundred million war contribution the war expenditure of the Government of India up to 31st March was about £127,800,000 sterling. A further contribution was proposed by the Government of India and was at present under consideration. Indian princes and others had contributed £2,100,000 sterling in cash, besides placing at the disposal of the Government of India considerable further sums for the purchase of horses, motors, comforts for troops, etc.

Col Yate suggested that in view of its good work in war time the Central Publicity Board should be continued.

Mr. Fisher replied that the Board was formed to give the people of India correct information in regard to the war, and now that peace was in sight, its functions were ended.

Indian Educational Service.

Mr. Fisher replying to *Mr. Rawlinson* stated that no definite promise regarding revision of pay and terms of the service of the

Indian Educational Service had been made though the need for improvement was recognised. An inquiry in this connection has just been completed and the Government of India was still considering the results. Meanwhile the Government of India propose certain provisional relief measures which had been sanctioned and which would shortly be announced in India.

Mr. Fisher, replying to *Mr. Wedgwood*, stated that *Mr. Montagu* had already taken steps to ensure that the Indian Army would be represented as adequately as possible in the Peace celebration. The Indian troops in France were insufficient to enable a procession to be formed in London similar to the Dominion processions.

Allowance to I. C. S.—May 21

Sir J. D. Rees asked. Is it necessary for the Government of India to retain the maximum of a thousand sterling a year furlough allowance for Civil servants?

Mr. Fisher replied that the Government of India had made a proposal in this matter, but he would have an opportunity of considering it when he dealt with the leave recommendations of the Public Service Commission.

The Indian Budget Debate.

Mr. MONTAGU'S SPEECH.

House of Commons—May 22, 1919.

The Secretary of State for India (Cambridge CL.) moved that the Speaker do leave the Chair in order that the House might go into Committee on the East India Revenue Accounts. He said: This is the sixth time it has fallen to my lot to initiate the discussion on the Indian Budget, and I devoutly hope it may be the last. This is the first time in the history of Indian affairs in my memory that the House of Commons has agreed to the discussion of the Indian Budget so early as before the end of May, and I take that as a happy prelude to the day when we shall have substituted for this meaningless process of Budget debate a more proper procedure of debate on the India Office Estimates. As regards the financial situation in India, I will merely say that the currency position was a source of great anxiety to the Government throughout the War, and is now causing us renewed anxiety owing to the increase in the price of silver, which has necessitated a rupee of 18. 8d. It is a difficult matter to decide how long we shall go on purchasing silver in a rising market, and I have decided to appoint a new Currency Commission to investigate the situation caused by the rise in the price of silver and the limited world supply. I propose to publish the names of that Commission in due course; they will be representative of British and Indian Commerce, and they will be presided over by Sir Henry Babington Smith, who has kindly consented to offer his unequalled knowledge to this very responsible body.

The Position in India.

I will try to sketch the position in India to-day. If we were considering only the position of India *vis à vis* the great nations of the world, the situation is a bright one. After having taken up the challenge which Germany and her Allies presented to the civilised world, after having devoted her invaluable troops and her resources to the Allied cause, India has won for herself a place in international discussion equal to that of the British Dominions and greater than the position occupied by any Power in the world, except

of course, those who are colloquially known as the "Big Five." Not only has she separate access to the Peace Conference, not only have her representatives received from the King power to sign on his behalf peace with His Majesty's enemies, but as members of the British Empire Delegation they share in the task of concerting the policy of the British Empire. I can only say on behalf of my colleagues His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir and Lord Sinha, and of myself, that we have devoted ourselves in Paris with all the more concentration to the interests of the Indian Empire because we realise we are the representatives of a people not yet, unfortunately, self-governing.

It must have been a satisfaction to the House of Commons to learn that India was to be an original member of the League of Nations, and that Indian representatives are to sit in the far-reaching and important Indian National Labour Organisation which is to result from the Peace Treaty. These things, together with the place occupied by my friend and colleague, Lord Sinha, in the House of Lords, commit Parliament to the view that this position is only justified if you can raise India to the position of a sister Nation in the British Empire, and is wholly inconsistent with a position of subordination. I must go one step farther. I would say, our Colleagues who have sat with us round the Conference table representing the great Dominions of the Empire, that the position of equality which they have given to the representatives of India is wholly inconsistent, in my humble opinion, with the treatment of the citizens of India in British Dominions—

(*Colonel Wedgwood* :—South Africa.) In South Africa or anywhere else—in a position which puts them lower than the citizens of any other part of the British Empire.

• The war with Afghanistan.

Now I turn to India herself. There the position is not so satisfactory. Having come through the War with a record which will compare well with the record of any other country in the world, we find now a country in mourning. Rebellion and revolution have appeared internally. War has broken out afresh on her frontiers. I would invite the attention of the House to an analysis of the causes, to a description of the state of affairs, and to a suggestion as to the remedies. I am not going to say very much about Afghanistan. It is now quite clear that the new Ameer, having achieved the Throne, has in a moment of almost suicidal folly authorised an unprovoked attack upon the territories for which we are responsible. His motives are doubtful. They must be partly attributed to the unrest which exists throughout the Muhammadan world, partly to a pathetic

effort by the worst possible means to consolidate his position on a shaky Throne, partly to the emissaries of that dark and murderous doctrine which battens upon unrest, feeds on discontent, spreads disorder wherever it shows its head—Bolshevism and the Bolshevik emissaries of Russia. (An Hon. Member—"And Germany, too") All these have played their part, and the result was inevitable. I shall publish daily as I receive them reports on the military situation. It is not necessary for me to say that we desire nothing in Afghanistan but the friendly relations with a neighbouring country which we had when Afghanistan was ruled by that wise statesman Habibulla, who was so recently and treacherously done to death. We desire peace and no interference, but we do intend to exact stern and just punishment for the raids and invasions perpetrated by unscrupulous forces on the peoples under our protection, and explanations and withdrawals of the strange messages we have received from the present Ameer.

The Internal Situation.

Now, as to the internal situation in India I propose to deal frankly with the trouble, but I do so with this word of preface—the danger is not past, it exists; it is not something that is finished; it threatens. I shall charge myself with the task of saying nothing that will fan the flames or increase the grievous responsibility of those whose first duty it is to restore order. Those who govern India, those who wish her well, those who desire for her peace and progress, speak at a critical time in her history. I feel sure I can appeal to all those hon. members who will take a part in this debate to recognise, as I think the whole of India has recognised, that the first duty of the Government to-day is to restore order. It is not necessary to exaggerate the situation. Let us look first at the reasons we have for rejoicing. Riots involving the destruction of life and of property have occurred in certain parts of the Presidency of Bombay, in the province of the Punjab (extending over one-tenth of the area, and involving one third of the population), on one occasion in the city of Delhi and to a minor extent in the streets of Calcutta. There has been no trouble in Madras, in the Central Provinces, in the United Provinces, nor in Bihar, Orissa or Burma. In Calcutta the Bengali had little or no share in the trouble at all. Throughout India, generally speaking, the country districts remained quiet, and the trouble was confined to the towns.

I would ask this House to join with me in an expression of sincere sympathy to all those who have suffered in these disturbances. There has been the loss of much property and of many

innocent lives. There have been, as doubtless will be revealed when the whole story is told, many stirring deeds of heroism. These events have shown the unshakeable, undismayed, loyalty of India as a whole, and there have been striking incidents of the co-operation of the Indians in localising the trouble, and in using efforts to restore order. This does not detract from the fact that Englishmen in no way connected with the Government and in no way responsible for the deeds—misdeeds or good deeds—of the Government, have lost their lives and have been foully murdered. Official Indians and non-official Indians have been done to death. Even many of the rioters deserve our sympathy, for when these things occur the man who loses his life as a result of a soldier's bullet is as much the victim of those who promoted the riots as those who are killed by the rioters themselves.

Indian Army Organization Inquiry

In these circumstances the Indian Army to a man and the Indian police, despite attempts to promote insubordination and indiscipline, remain without a single stain upon their reputation or a single unpleasant incident. (Hear, hear.) This is a tribute to the men who have won renown on all the fields of War, who played so conspicuous, indeed the main and predominant part in the defeat of one of our enemies, Turkey, but it is also a tribute to the officer of the Indian Army who has shown his great capacity for leadership. I see opposite me my hon. and gallant friend (Colonel Yate), whom, I think, I can describe as the member for the Indian Army, who has done so much, both publicly and privately, to remove the troubles and to champion the cause of the officers of the Indian Army. May I digress for a moment to say to him, with special reference to the amendment he has upon the paper, that both the Government of India and the India Office are of opinion, that now that the War is over there must be an inquiry by the best military organisations that we can obtain, to improve the organisation of the Indian Army with a view to removing grievances as to promotion and opportunity, and with a view to modernising, bearing in mind the experiences of the War, its organisation. The Government of India are devoting their attention to an investigation of the grievances as to pay, pensions, and leave, upon which I hope to give further information to the House. (Hear, hear.)

(Colonel Yate.—Thank you.)

I turn now to the British Army. When the trouble occurred the elements of the British Army remaining in India, having done duty there throughout the war, some of them faced with another

hot season in India, going back in the expectancy of early demobilisation, agreed to stay to help in the restoration of order. I do not think there will be any doubt about the welcome which the British troops will receive at home wherever they have been doing duty through the War, but for these men, in these circumstances, I would ask that those who have a welcome to offer, or an opportunity to afford special treatment and special consideration, will avail themselves of that opportunity when these men come home last of all. (Hear, hear!)

The Causes of Unrest

What were the causes of these troubles which have resulted, so far as I can make out, in the loss of nine European and something like 400 Indian lives? I am not going to deal with the obvious, with the reaction from the strain of the War, or with the general unrest which is current throughout the world, but I want to deal with the direct causes, economic and political. The economic causes are very considerable. India has suffered this year, for the first time, I am glad to say, for some years past, from a failure of the rains. There has been in consequence great diminution in food supplies and prices have risen to a very great extent indeed. People have gone short of food despite the strenuous efforts made by the Government to ensure better distribution and to make available grain from Australia. Further than that, two other things have accentuated the distresses. Recruitment for the Army has gone on in parts particularly affected by these disturbances with such zeal and enthusiasm that I think there is reason to believe many a family was left without its breadwinner and consequently the area under cultivation has been diminished. Lastly, there was that scourge of Influenza, which removed many of the most vigorous people in the prime of life, because this disease seems to have attacked by preference people of the bread-winning age. Between five and six million people died of Influenza in India last winter. Between 50 per cent and 80 per cent—on an average two-thirds—of the total population suffered from Influenza during the visitation of this plague, with its consequent removal from industry or from agriculture, which is more important, and the enfeebling after-results. These, I think, are the main economic causes.

Now I will turn to the political causes. I put first among the political causes the perturbation and perplexity caused to the Muhammadan world by the discussions arising out of the defeat of Turkey. This subject was discussed in the House last week *a propos* of Egypt. Very much the same circumstances exist in India,

where Indian soldiers, including among them their best Muhammadan soldiers, claim that they have had a predominant part in the defeat of Turkey in full confidence that the War was a war of liberation and equality of treatment, of National settlement and of Self-Determination, and when they read rumours and acts, which led to a fear that our Musalman enemy will be partitioned up to satisfy conflicting claims, when they read that this part is to be allotted to this European nation and that to another—mere rumours, but alarming rumours—when they read that, as a signal of victory, there are those who advocate the reconsecration of an important Muhammadan mosque, is it to be wondered at that there are signs of unrest among the Muhammadan people of the world? (Cheers.)

The Rowlatt Act.

I now come to two other political causes—causes more indirect because they only affect the politically minded part of the population, but causes which must be reckoned with. One is a fear, based upon the ceaseless activities of the Indo-British Association, that the Reforms promised on August 20, 1917, will not be carried out in an acceptable form. There is an association formed with the most laudable motives, which has carried on a ceaseless campaign against those reforms ever since the announcement was made. It has slandered and libelled whole sections of the Indian population. It has very often hardly paid to the facts the respect to which facts are entitled, and it has provoked the suspicion that the British Parliament intends to go back upon that pronouncement, or at least not to carry it out in an adequate way. Lastly, there is the Rowlatt Act, which has caused widespread—I would almost say universal—opposition throughout India—Let the House make no mistake. The Rowlatt Act was throughout India a very unpopular Act. I have read from end to end all the debates which took place upon the Rowlatt Act, and I am not here to apologise for it. I am still convinced that in the circumstances, as passed, as it is now on the Statute Book, as it has been left to its operation, the Rowlatt Act was necessary, ought to have been passed, and could not have been avoided.

Evidence accumulates every day that there is in India a small body of men who are the enemies of Government; men whom any Government, bureaucratic or democratic, alien or indigenous, if it is worthy the name of Government, must deal with. I cannot do better, in describing this body of men, than quote the words of a very great and distinguished Indian, Mr. Gandhi. There is

no man who offers such perplexity to Government as Mr. Gandhi, a man of the highest motives and of the finest character, a man who his worst enemy, if he has any enemies, would agree is of the most disinterested ambitions that it is possible to conceive, a man who has deserved well of his country by the services he has rendered, both in India and outside it, and yet a man whom his friends—and I would count myself as one of them—would wish would exercise his great powers with a greater sense of responsibility, and would realise in time that there are forces beyond his control and outside his influence who use the opportunities afforded by his name and reputation. My hon. and gallant friend (Colonel Wedgwood) will realise that Mr. Gandhi is not the only man who, despite the most laudable motives, sometimes shows a lack of political wisdom.

Colonel Wedgwood.—I should be quite content if I had Mr. Gandhi's virtues and powers.

Mr. Montagu.—Mr. Gandhi has himself said about these things—he was deploring as, of course, he would do, the acts of violence which have occurred—that “He realised that there were clever men behind it all and some organisation beyond his ken.” That is the real revolutionary, the man who lurks in dark corners, whom nothing can locate or convert, who is subject to the influences of organisation ramifying throughout the world with its secret emissaries and influences, men who are a danger to any country, and against whom the Government of India are determined to do unceasing battle until they have been extirpated. (Cheers) The defence of India Act has helped us to do much with regard to these men. No one in this House will accuse Lord Carmichael of being a stern, unbending bureaucrat. These are his words :—“The Defence of India Act is what has helped us. I am only saying what I believe to be absolutely true when I say that the Defence of India Act has helped to defend the young educated men of Bengal as nothing else has defended them, not their own fathers, not their teachers, for they were ignorant, nor their associates, nor they themselves, for they were blind to the danger.” Under the Defence of India Act a certain number of these people have been dealt with. The greater number of the persons were mainly required to live in their own homes and not to move without permission. The Act is comparable to our own Defence of the Realm Act and was passed for the duration of the war only. Under it 1,600 people have been dealt with of whom nearly two thirds have subsequently been released, leaving at present 464 subject to restraint. All the cases have been investigated by a Commission of Inquiry consisting of Mr. Justice Beechcroft and Sir Narayan Chandravarkar, and in all the

cases which they have investigated they have found the Government was justified in the action they took except in six cases.

Problem of the Government.

The problem before the Government of India was this. Were we, when peace was restored, to rely on the ordinary law as it existed before the Defence of India Act was passed, or was it necessary to take any new steps? We did not decide that by correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, but we appointed a Committee of Inquiry into the facts. It was presided over by an English Judge Mr. Justice Rowlatt, whom I asked to go out there. His associates were two Indian Judges, one an Indian and one an Englishman, an Indian Civil Servant, and an Indian lawyer in a large way of practice. They presented, after full investigation, a unanimous report, and the facts which they brought to light have never been challenged. (Cheers) It is their recommendation which has been carried out in the Rowlatt Act. Does the House mean to suggest to me that, confronted with this evil, having considered the situation arising out of the end of the Defence of India Act, having appointed a Committee for this purpose thus constituted, having got from it a unanimous report of this authority, that we were to say we would disregard their advice and do nothing? It has been objected that this Commission was entirely legal, that they were all lawyers, and that a different result might have been obtained if some other element had been upon the tribunal. Our anxiety was to try to rely entirely upon legal processes rather than upon executive action. What better tribunal can you have to advocate the sweet advantages of the law than lawyers? The fact added, to my mind, to the importance of their findings.

The Purpose of the Act.

Let me shortly describe the Act which is based upon their recommendation. First of all it is not in force anywhere. Does the House realise that? It will never be in force unless the circumstances which justify it occur, and then it would be unflinchingly used. It is divided into four parts, and the application of each part depends upon declaration of the Government of India that in different degrees anarchical or revolutionary crime exists.

Sir D. Maclean—Do I understand that the India Defence of the Realm Act is considered to be sufficient to cover the Indian difficulties until the War ends, and then that the Rowlatt Act or acts would, if necessary, being on the Statute Book, be put into operation?

Mr. Montagu :—That is absolutely correct. It was stated several

times in the debate by members of the Government of India, that they had no intention of using the Rowlatt Act until the end of the War. Under the first part of the Bill, when the results of anarchical or revolutionary movement are comparatively mild, nothing is suggested but the speeding up of the ordinary legal processes. Under the other two parts of the Act, where anarchical or revolutionary movements are giving cause for grave anxiety or are prevailing to such an extent as to endanger the public safety, then the local government may deprive a man of his liberty not as punishment but as a preventive, and intern him, for a prolonged period. But in that case the local government first of all has to submit the case to a judicial officer to advise them upon it. It is not until they have received his report that they take action, and within a month of having taken action, they must submit the whole case to what is called an investigating authority, consisting of three individuals, of whom one shall be anonymous, to go into the whole case afresh and see that the Act has not been misapplied. That is, roughly speaking, the machinery.

Colonel Wedgwood :—These people to whom appeals are made have to decide the question not on the grounds of justice or injustice, but on the grounds of expediency, I presume ; on the ground of whether the authority who ordered the man's internment believes that he was a danger to the State without any specific crime being alleged against him. It is a question of expediency, I understand, and not justice that has to be decided by the Appeal Court.

Mr. Montagu :—No, they have full authority to go into the whole matter. They would be able to advise the Government whether it is right and proper that this man should continue to be interned.

An Hon. Member :—Is it correct that in that case he is deprived of any legal assistance ?

Mr. Montagu :—Yes, sir ; under Part I of the Act he has legal assistance, but under Parts II and III there is no legal assistance. This is not a law court but a committee of inquiry. It is more like a schoolmaster investigating trouble in a school, a committee of a club using its friendly services for the purposes of inquiry, somebody to explore all matters, somebody to see that injustice is not done, somebody to be sure that all the facts are investigated.

The first objection to the Act is that we have in existence far more drastic powers than we take under the Act now and therefore what was the necessity for it ? That is so. Martial law, the power of ordinance, the Defence of India Act, Regulation 3 of the Act of 1918—all these are infinitely more drastic, infinitely more sum-

mary, and out of the mouths of our own critics I claim that we have made no new outrage upon the liberty of the subject in India. We have merely perfected and improved the long-established method of dealing with these abuses, something which gives some guarantees to the individual that the powers will not be mis-applied.

Next it was said in the debates, "Why do you come here for legislation? Why do you not proceed by ordinance? Why do you not enact by a decree of your Government?" Is it seriously to be argued that, instead of proceeding by full discussion in legislative council, without an opportunity of discussion or amendment you should enunciate an ordinance? I do not think that can seriously be argued by anybody with a sense of civic responsibility. I presume that what is meant is that there is no difference between legislation by ordinance and this legislation, which was passed by an official majority in the teeth of non-official opposition. I claim that the Bill was vastly improved by the discussion which took place in the Legislative Council, and I should like to pay a tribute to my hon. friend Sir William Vincent, the Home Member, for the courtesy and parliamentary ability which he displayed in the uncongenial task of passing this legislation. The two most important alterations that were made were that the Bill was limited to three years, and that the name we altered to make it quite clear that it was only to be used for anarchical and the revolutionary movement. The Government of India have been criticised ever in this House for consenting to make the Bill temporary. Why did they make any concessions in the Bill? Is discussion not to be of any use? Are there not occasions, even in this House, where a private member is right and where the Government is wise enough to see it?

Not a Permanent Measure

This Bill was never intended by the Government of India to be a permanent measure. It was introduced in a permanent form, but I hope everybody will look forward to its being unnecessary and to its eventual repeal. The Legislative Council were right in saying that this sort of legislation can only be justified by the existing circumstances of the case, and no Government is entitled to put a statute of this kind as a permanent measure upon the Statute Book. If you can justify previous action by what has occurred subsequently, there are dangers that justify this emergent and exceptional power at the period of the close of the War, with all the difficulties of peace, and when Bolshevism, even though its attractions are waning, is still a force to be reckoned with.

I appreciate to the full, one of the arguments which was used in the debate on this matter. It is objected by the non-official member : "Though you seek this instrument for dealing with anarchical and revolutionary crime, you will use it for all sorts of others. You will use it to stifle legitimate political discussion. You will misuse it." I profoundly sympathise with that, although I do not believe that there is any foundation whatever for this attitude. Drastic powers of this kind, safeguarded though they are in the hands of the Government, may make, if they are misused, administration, for it is not Government, too easy for the moment.

The Government of India again and again made all the pledges possible to eradicate this evil. I will repeat them. This Act will not be used except to cope with anarchical and revolutionary movement. There is no danger whatever of its being used for any other purpose, and if you think it is being used at any moment or at any time you will always have, I hope, the reformed Local Government and the large Legislative Assembly and the Select Committee of this House to safeguard the liberties or rather—because there I do not think there is any danger—to convince Indian public opinion that the powers we have taken have not been misused. Then comes the next objection : "Try the man openly in a Court of Law, and if he is guilty of these crimes produce him in the Law Court, let him stand his trial openly with lawyers to defend him, and then sentence him to the punishment he deserves." Is there any man in this House who does not sympathise with that plea in theory? Does not everybody hope, the Government of India as much as anybody, if not more, that the time will come to India when you can contemplate recourse to Judicial and not Executive remedies for dealing with evils which are in this country dealt with by Judicial Courts. The separation of Judicial and Executive functions in India has long been a much advocated and canvassed question. I do look for the day when we shall have a complete separation of Legal and Executive functions. I do hope the day will come when we can substitute for executive action the ordinary remedies of the law. But does anybody think that that day has come now any more than the achievement of Self-Government itself? What is the position at this moment? You cannot get witnesses. You cannot get a fair trial in cases of this kind in a court of Law. These revolutionary conspirators have proved over and over again their ability to intimidate those who give evidence against them, and those who have served the Government in exposing these conspiracies have been murdered, shot, have lost their lives for their action to such an extent that the only possible way of dealing with these cases, provided you once accept the

responsibility of Government and of the protection of life and property, is by eradicating these anarchical movements by private investigation.

The Beachcroft Report.

I would like to quote on this subject the report of Mr. Justice Beachcroft and his colleague. They say that the records before them proved conclusively that the revolutionary organisations were secret conspiracies which had spread to different parts of the provinces, had entered homes, schools, and had reduced the secrecy of operations almost to scientific methods. The conspirators had pledged their members to the closest secrecy of operations, had pledged their members to the closest secrecy under pain of instant death by murder in the event of disclosure. That was one of their methods, and every attempt to deal with the situation before the Defence of India Act was brought into force for the fair trial of persons accused of revolutionary crimes had been rendered practically impossible by the murder of witnesses, approvers, police officers, and law-abiding citizens suspected of having given information to or otherwise assisted the police in the detection of revolutionary crime. A situation of terrorism had been created. The current of truth and justice was disturbed so as to prevent a fair, open and impartial trial in an ordinary Criminal Court, with the result that approvers and witnesses would not come forward to give evidence openly lest they should be assassinated.

It is impossible to resort to open trial. I cannot agree that it is not the duty of the Government to use every method to cope with this danger. We intend to maintain order in India and to safeguard it because we believe that is the only atmosphere in which nationality can grow uninterruptedly, surely, and swiftly. I quote the opinion of one who cannot be described as a thick-and-thin supporter of the Government in India and all that is done by it—Mrs. Besant. She has stated in public that the Rowlatt Act as amended contains nothing that a good citizen should resist. But this Act need never be used if there is no occasion to use it.

Alternative Policies.—The Remedies

I have described the causes which have led to the existing conditions, and I come now to what I venture to suggest are the remedies. There seem to me to be two alternative policies. The first is to do nothing, to ride the storm, to stifle political aspiration by the Rowlatt Act and comparable legislation, and to prevent those who would stir up strong political ambitions from speaking in India or in

England, to give the advocates of reform no opportunities for laying their case before the Government at Home, to keep leaders from the platform, to govern by emergency legislation through the police. That is what I believe is called in clubs a firm and strong Government. Sir, we are not dealing with a cattle-yard. (Hear, hear.) We are dealing with men and thinking men and business men, who desire opportunities for developing their aspirations. That policy is the sort of policy which is described in some eloquent words by the man under whose leadership I entered the field of Indian politics. Morley said this :—"Shortcomings of Government lead to outbreaks. Outbreaks have to be put down. Reformers have to bear the blame and reforms are stopped. Reaction triumphs and mischief goes on as before, only worse." That is not the policy of His Majesty's Government. It is not the policy that I am here to advocate. There are, I believe, in India some men, opponents of all Governments, who are incurably evilly disposed ; there are others whose grievances must be investigated with a view to removing their cause. Much has been done recently. The letters addressed to me and to other people show that among the young and misguided men whom it ought to be our constant effort to reform, new hope is arising. The steadily increased association of Indians with the affairs of Government, such small reforms as the grant of commission in His Majesty's Army to Indians, and the removal at last of the racial discrimination in the Army Act Schedule—all these will have their effect and are having their effect. More than this is required.

Inquiry Contemplated.

Questions have been asked from time to time and resolutions have been moved demanding an inquiry. The Viceroy has always contemplated an inquiry. You cannot have disturbances of this kind and of this magnitude without an inquiry into the causes of and the measures taken to cope with these disturbances but no announcement has been made of any inquiry up to this moment,—for this reason : let us talk of an inquiry when we have put the fire out. The only message which we can send from this House to-day to India is a message which I am sure will be one of confidence in and sympathy with those upon whom the great responsibility has fallen of restoring the situation. Afterwards will come the time to hold an inquiry, not only to help us to remove the causes of the troubles, but in order to dispose once for all of some of the libellous charges which have been made against British troops and those upon whom the unpleasant duties in connexion with these riots have fallen.

I was asked a question yesterday about Mr. Horniman. Governments in India have been very patient with Mr. Horniman. In no case has there been a better example of our reluctance to interfere with mere eccentricities of political belief. But when this gentleman began to use his paper in the middle of riots resulting in loss of life, to spread and to fan the flame, and opened his columns to an accusation that British troops had been using soft-nosed bullets in the streets of Delhi, and when his paper was being distributed free to British troops in Bombay in the hope of exciting disaffection and insubordination, why then I say that it was high time he left India. (Here, here,) (Colonel Wedgwood :—Why not prosecute him? And another Member.—Why not shoot him?) In normal times he would have been tried and there was a strong case to put before the law courts. Riots were occurring, and prompt and swift action for the restoration of order was necessary. He was an Englishman. This is one of those cases in which I should hope nobody would ever suggest any racial discrimination. An Indian would have been deported. An Englishman, upon whom far greater responsibility certainly rests, cannot be tolerated in India if he is responsible for the occurrences which we associate with Mr. Horniman.

Then with regard to the Muhammadans, I can only say, speaking for myself that I cordially sympathise with the cause of their perturbation. I and my colleagues in Paris persistently and consistently at every opportunity afforded to us, right down to Saturday last when we discussed the question assisted by three representative Indian Muhammadans with the Council of Four (Mr. Lloyd George, President Wilson, Mr. Clemenceau, and S. Orlando, the persons charged with the drafting of the Peace treaty), have advocated these views and explained these terms. If you want contented Muhammadan feeling in India you can achieve it only by a just peacebased on considerations of nationality and Self-Determination for Turks within the Turkish Empire. I would reassure my Muhammadan fellow-subjects by saying that throughout all the peace discussions in Paris there has never been one word, authorized or unauthorized, to indicate that anybody is foolish enough to want to interfere with the question, which is a purely Muhammadan question, of the Caliphate. I would go further and say that I do not believe that any holy place or any building which is consecrated to a particular religious faith at the present time is in any danger of being interfered with in consequence of the Peace. Further, we must give to the Muhammadans of India a fair share in the representation on public bodies in India, as we are enabled to do in consequence of Lord Southborough's report.

India Against Free Trade

Now as to the economic causes. Part of the economic causes can be dealt with only by searching medical and scientific investigations. It always seems to me that Influenza, despite its terrific deathroll, is never treated with the respect which its toll on humanity deserves; but the history of India in the last winter makes it necessary to devote all that is best in science to combat the recurrence of so hideous a calamity. More than that, we want to increase the resisting power of the Indian people; we want to improve the conditions under which they live; and I have no doubt whatever that the only road to that is the development of India's industrial capacity and resources for the benefit of India. The Industrial Commission which reported will bear fruit. Sir Thomas Holland is on his way home to this country, and we shall take action upon the Industrial Commission's report as soon as the members of my Council have an opportunity of conferring.

But there are some questions outside the report to which I would venture to draw attention. India went short of many necessary commodities during the War when sea communications were interrupted. The educated people of India, almost unanimously, have been for years past discontented with their fiscal policy. I am a Free Trader, but I have always held that Free Trade should be achieved by a nation at its own risk, and not be imposed on it from outside by another country (Hear, hear.) There is no doubt that the educated people of India are not Free Traders. If they were given fiscal liberty I think they soon would be; but let them find their own salvation. Let them find what in their opinion suits their destinies best; and I say that if we in this country slide towards Protection, you may be quite sure that among India's mass of industries and occupations they will find their creed, and they will demand, as they have demanded for years past, the fiscal liberty which we enjoy in this country.

The promised Bill.

Lastly, I am more than ever convinced that we must now proceed without delay to the introduction of the promised Bill for the alteration of the Government of India. The pronouncement of August 20 must be made to live. I am authorised to say this afternoon that the Cabinet have consented to my introduction, on their behalf of a Bill which will be introduced, I hope, at the beginning of June. There is now no longer any reason for delay. Lord Southborough's Committee have reported and have shown that we can get an electorate in India 157 times as big as the present one, which is

good to begin with. Mr. Feetham's Committee have reported and shown that you can divide the functions of the Government of India from those of the local Governments, and thus admit of the long-desired decentralisation, and that of the functions of the local Governments. There are many and substantial functions that can be entrusted at once to the charge of representatives of the peoples of India. I have every reason to hope that when a start of that kind has been made the rest of the local functions of the local Governments will follow. The Bill which I shall introduce, therefore, is only awaiting two events—the recommendations of Lord Crewe's Committee as to those changes in the India Office which will require statutory enactment, and the publication—which I hope to have next week—of the despatches of the Government of India and of the local Governments upon the Report. When these documents are published it will be found—I do not want to anticipate discussion—that the majority of the local Governments do not like that portion of the Montagu-Chelmsford form of Government which is known as the Diarchy and they have said so very forcibly. After they had written their letters of dissent the heads of the local Governments went to Delhi and conferred with the Viceroy. As a result they produced an alternative scheme, which will be published next week, and it is endorsed by the Governments of the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, and Assam. The Governor of Bengal and the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar and Orissa prefer the original scheme. The Governors of Madras and Bombay were not represented. The dispatch of the Government of India, it will be seen, seems to me to be a striking defence of the original scheme, and invites Parliament to reject the alternative scheme proposed by a majority of the local Governments. I do not want to anticipate the second reading debate upon the Bill, which after it has been introduced according to promise, is to be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses, who will hear evidence and discuss the alternative, and upon whose recommendations I presume the House will ultimately form judgment.

The keystone, the whole basis, the vital point of Indian reform to day is the transference of power from the bureaucracy to the people, gradual if you like, but real at every stage. I cannot bring home better to this House what I mean by the essence of that than to ask them to consider the situation in this country. During the War Parliamentary Government has been diminished and executive control has been substituted. I read in the papers every day a demand that our lives, our occupations, our businesses should be free from executive control. The only difference between the complaints here

and in India is that in India nobody suggests that executive control is exercised by too many officials ; it is done by a singularly few ; whereas the complaint here is as to the number. But nobody questions the single mindedness, the ability, the devotion to duty of the officials to whose power we in this country, now that peace is restored, so much object. What we demand in this country is that officials should govern, not merely for our good but on our behalf ; should carry out the orders of Parliament, and be responsible to Parliament, Parliament alone deciding upon them.

That is where the grievance in India lies. There is, believe me, a passion for Self-Government. Nobody questions that it must come gradually, but I say that at every stage the transference of power must be real and substantial. It must be definite and concrete ; it must be beyond the reach of the personal generosity of character or the suspicious nature, of the autocratic temper or the easy-going disposition, of the particular incumbent of any particular Governorship or Lieutenant-Governorship. You must transfer the power from officials to people. You must make a beginning, and you must go on doing it. That is what is meant by the progressive realisation of responsible Government. There is a great part to play for the Civil Servant, English and Indian, in India today, greater almost than the great part he has played in the past. But so far as responsibility for policy goes the pronouncement of August 20 meant nothing if it did not mean that the power of directing policy should, first in some things and then in others, until finally in all, be transferred to the elected representatives of the people of India.

Therefore I am going to oppose, and I shall ask the House to oppose, any colourable programme which leaves an irresponsible Executive confronted with a majority which they have to oppose or defer to at their will, on all or any subjects, as they choose. That is not responsible Government, and if that is the only alternative to diarchy, Diarchy holds the field. Therefore it will be seen that the Bill I shall introduce, I hope shortly, will in substance carry out the proposals which the Viceroy and I submitted to Parliament a year ago. It will be seen in the despatch of the Government of India that certain amendments have been suggested. Of those amendments some have been incorporated in the Bill ; others I shall invite the Joint Committee to decide against.

Do Not Do Less.

After reading all the criticisms to which I could gain access, after considering all the amendmends for improvement which have come

to my notice, I have this to observe: The scheme which the Viceroy and I submitted to the people was elaborated after discussion with all the local Governments, with many officials and non-officials, after prolonged discussion with the Government of India. I remain now of the opinion which I expressed last year in this House, that we require all the assistance that the Joint Committee of Parliament can give us to improve our suggestion, to find a better way even yet of carrying out the policy of His Majesty's Government, to making amendment of our proposals.

But I did not sign my name to that document in the belief that it was either a minimum or a maximum. I believe it embodied the extent to which Parliament ought to go. Do it differently if you like, find other methods if it please you, but I beg of you do not do less. You cannot put before the world a scheme which is elaborated over the signature of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, and then do what is called in India whittling down the scheme. (Hear, hear.) Amend it, alter it, turn it inside out, start on a new route, but I beg of you to go as far, and so long as I hold the office with which I am now entrusted, so long as I remain a member of this House, I will ask the House not to pull bricks out of, but to build on, the foundation recommended to the extent of the scheme in the report which the Viceroy and I laid before Parliament.

The policy which I have attempted to advocate is the policy which many, I think all, of my predecessors have advocated. It can be summed up in a sentence. I would put first the maintenance of order; secondly, a searching and tireless effort to investigate the causes of disorder and discontent, to remove those which are removable, to eradicate the sources of disturbance and disorder, and go on with a determination, courageous, unhesitating, zealous, to make of India what may be very loosely described as a union of great self governing countries, entrusted with the custody of their own well-being, partners in the great freedom-loving British Commonwealth. That is a task in every way worthy of this Parliament, to my mind the only conceivable outcome of the unexampled and magnificent work that has been done by British effort and enterprise in India. (Cheers.)

The Budget Debate, 1919.

Sir D. Maclean said the House was indebted to the right hon. gentleman for his wise, statesmanlike, and sympathetic speech. Speaking on behalf of his friends on that side of the House, they would like to bear their tribute to the magnificent part which India had played in the great War. In men, in material and in money she had shown herself a worthy sister of the great community called the British Empire. (Cheers). He heard with very great pleasure that the Government proposed to introduce their Bill to carry out not in any niggardly spirit, but in a broad and generous spirit, the recommendations of the Montagu Chelmsford Report. He sincerely trusted that its relegation to a Joint Committee would not result in the long hanging up of the measure, for on it lay the real, the only hope of maintaining India as part of the Empire, and of bringing her fully into the sisterhood of nations which constituted the British Commonwealth. He did not deny that repressive measures were necessary in India to-day. His small information would make him very careful of anything like sweeping denunciation or accusation against the Executive in India. But the one thing that carried Lord Morley through a difficult time was that he accompanied the necessary assertion of public order by wide measures of reform. The Secretary for India's only chance of success was to ensure that before the Rowlatt Acts came into operation the beneficent influence of the reforms which had been indicated should be at work.

Sir J. D. Ress, (Nottingham, E. C. U.) said the Indian Civil Service had governed India for more than the ephemeral occupants of Vice-regal and provincial thrones, but that epoch was fast passing away, and it was futile and useless to stand against the new order of things. It was perfectly useless to weep over the passing of the old state of affairs, and he for one would not refuse to recognise that we live in a new world—a world created by the war. The voice of faction had been stilled in India during the War; she had loyally stood by her pledges to us, and we must fulfil the pledges given her by this country. India's example had been of the utmost benefit to the Empire. He hoped that when fresh arrangements were made with Afghanistan a subsidy would form no part of them, as Asiatic regarded a subsidy as a tribute. He entered a strong plea for main

taining the independence of Turkey. Dealing with the question of Constantinople, he deprecated a division of the great Muhammadan power of Turkey into petty little republics, and thought it was a gratuitous aggravation to talk about making the Mosque of St. Sophia into a Christian Church ; not much more reasonable than it would be to talk about restoring Druidical remains in this country. (Hear, hear). He would leave Palestine to France, to deal with. All that we want was Mesopotamia which we own and should keep for our safety in the Persian Gulf, and the approach to India, and for the safety of the great oil sources which the British owns—one of the most profitable, most patriotic and most satisfactory deals that was ever made by a British Government.

SPEECH OF Dr. E. HOPKINSON.

I hope the House will extend to me the indulgence it usually extends to a Member addressing it for the first time. Perhaps I have some excuse for taking part in the Debate, seeing that I am the only Member of the House who was also a member of the Indian Industrial Commission. There is one statement made by the Secretary of State this afternoon which will give the utmost satisfaction not only in this House but also in India. It was that the labours of that Commission are not to be set aside or lost sight of, but that the recommendations will be fully considered now that the chairman Sir Thomas Holland, is in this country.

If there was one thing more than another which became abundantly clear during the investigations of that Commission, it was the deep interest taken by the Indians themselves in the improvement of the Industrial position of India. The Commission had unusually good opportunities of ascertaining not only the physical possibility of increasing the industrial wealth and improving the industrial position of the country, but also the attitude of the Indians themselves towards those ends. We had as our President Sir Thomas Holland, a man of ability, who knew India perhaps better from the point of view of the natural resources of the country than anyone else. He had himself served in the Government of India, and had brought the Geological Department of the Government of India to a degree of efficiency second to none in the world. We had also on the Commission four Indian members, three of them great leaders of industry in India, and the fourth a politician pure and simple—I will not say with no interest, but with comparatively little intelligent or instructive interest in the industries of India. We had also on the Commission two or three members of the Civil Service of India,

and myself, of whom it cannot, at any rate, be said that I was tinged with any preconceived notions from the Indian point of view.

Vivid and Vital Impressions.

I do not desire to weary the House by referring in detail to the findings of the Commission and the recommendations contained in their report, but I would like to refer to some of the most vivid and vital impressions which resulted from our investigation. No more striking impression was made upon the minds of all of us, even those who knew India well, than the enormous potential wealth of the country. Though the wealth is there, buried in the soil or ready to be extracted from the soil by the natural processes of agriculture it is scarcely developed compared with what it might be.

The reason is not far to seek. Let me cite agriculture, first of all, as an example, because it perhaps more clearly than any other branch of industry shows what might be done compared with what has been done. The wealth of India is primarily due to its agriculture. The Government of India has a scientific agricultural staff in quality second to none in the world, but in quantity ludicrously insufficient compared with the problem which it has to tackle. It is the third country in the world in the extent of its production of wheat and barley, but where the production of wheat and barley is represented by twenty per acre in England, in India it is only represented by eight. It does not seem to me a very great thing to suppose that by the application of scientific methods and research that figure of eight might be changed into ten, and that would mean millions of sterling to India.

Take another illustration. India produces more sugar than any other country in the world, but the consumption is so great and the methods, so wasteful that it actually spends ten million sterling annually on importing sugar that other countries produce.

The Indigo and other Trade.

Let me take one other instance in connection with agriculture. I think it is the most striking of all. Before the invention of synthetic indigo by the Germans, the cultivation of indigo was one of the most flourishing industries in India. We are aware how by patient and scientific research, and the expenditure of money yearly upon research, the Germans displaced the natural indigo of India by the synthetic product. The trade was absolutely killed. During the War there was a revival of the industry, and that revival was brought about by a series of investigations in regard to the preparation of the natural product. It was given in evidence before the Commission by one of the most experienced planters in Behar that he would

undertake to grow indigo now on his plantation, taking advantage of all improvements and to sell it at pre-war prices at a profit. That means, and I wish the House to take cognisance of the fact, that the pre-war German trade in indigo could be killed outright on its merits. Is not that a striking fact? Does it not make it worth while that the recommendations of the Committee should receive serious consideration at the hands of the Government of India and of the right hon. Gentleman, the Secretary of State?

Before I pass from agricultural questions I want to emphasise the need that the scientific department of the Agricultural Department in India should have more money spent upon it, and that it should be enlarged. What is required is that brains should go out from this country to help in the scientific work. Reference has been made by one of my hon. Friends to the supply of Tungsten. That is a trade which before the War had passed entirely into German hands. Under the pressure of war it has come back into British hands. India could produce all the tungsten the world requires, and all that is needed is practical development of the trade. There is another metal, Thorium, a most important metal, one essential for the production of gases. The trade in that, too, was allowed to pass into German hands.

This country, by availing itself of its opportunities in India, could now become self-supporting in that regard. India possesses copper. The mines in Burma produce lead and zinc, and if there were only a concentration camp, it would be possible to obtain sulphuric acid which is a basis of many very important industries.

A Brighter Side.

Even that feature of the situation has a brighter side. Thanks to the assistance and sympathy of a Liberal Government on the scientific side, and not much of that, although the intention was really good, a great Tata firm were induced to set up iron and steel works, which have become one of the most flourishing and most important work in the world. India now can supply all the rail she wants and before long she will be able to supply our own needs. That has been done entirely by native effort and with the sympathy and help and the scientific advice of the Government of India. That is one of the fundamental things which the Commission desire to see extended and developed throughout India.

The Government should provide scientific help for research work, which is necessary for the development of the country industrially, and should also by sympathy expressed in various ways—it may be in improved transit or by help in the acquisition of land—I

could suggest a dozen different ways—help the development of industrial India. Let me relate one instance to the House to show the attitude of India itself towards this aspect of the Commission. An Indian witness before the Commission made what appeared to me to be a curious statement. He said the Government of India should pass a law providing that half the directors of every company should be Indian. It appeared to me that that might be due to jealousy of British industrial methods in India, but on examination I found that it was not so.

The real idea was that the Indians should be taught how to work and manage the various undertaking. It was desired to convert every board of directors into a school. The idea of course is ludicrous, but the statement was significant as showing the trend of the Indian mind towards industrial measures.

Manufacturing Industries.

The manufacturing industries of India are obviously divisible into two classes—those already developed, such as the great jute industry of Bengal, the cotton industry of Bombay and to some extent the woollen industry of Cawnpore. There are a number of other industries, such as the manufacture of glass, cement and matches. There are also the chemical trade and the manufacture of paper, both of which are still undeveloped for want of technical knowledge and expert advice.

What the industries of India require is not British capital, but British brains. They need expert advice, and scientific knowledge applied to the latent resources of India will bring forth a harvest of a hundred fold. But that is not the whole story. Other factors must also be taken into account. Indian labour must be considered. In the course of our inquiry we made careful investigations, not only into the remuneration of Indian labour, but also into housing and sanitary conditions. If the problem of labour is acute in this country, it is ten times more acute in India. I say that advisedly.

Wages in India.

The rate of wages in India is far too low for tolerable subsistence. Industrial conditions in India in many cases, and I have particularly in mind the cotton mills of Bombay, are so monstrously bad that I could hardly relate to any decent assembly of people what I myself saw in the course of my investigations. Although a Lancashire man, I greatly admire the action which the predecessor of my right hon. friend the present Secretary of State took with regard to the cotton industry, but I do wish he had taken

that opportunity of throwing upon the Bombay millowners the onus of improving the housing conditions of their work-people. I believe, and I say it advisedly after conversing with a great number of the mill-owners, that the best are perfectly ready to shoulder the burden if they are assured it will be distributed over the whole. And there again is a brighter side to the picture.

The new steel works of the Tata firm to which I have already referred are in all matters of housing up to date in every possible respect. Each cottage has its garden, each coolie line has ample space around it, and the water supply is perfect, and yet that firm in spite of all its expenditure in that direction, is able to pay a dividend of 200 per cent.

That sort of thing cannot be done in India without cost, but the cost amply justifies itself. You may go to other places and find conditions equally good. I myself investigated the conditions in one of the largest mills in Bengal. That mill was able to make a selection of labour by drawing it from a very much larger area, simply, because that firm had the reputation of supplying pure water, indeed it was nicknamed "Mill Pure Water." Not only was the water good, but the housing conditions, the coolie lines, and the sanitary arrangements were all in first-rate condition and up to date. So much impressed was I by what I saw at the mill, that that evening, when I met the then Governor of Bengal, Lord Carmichael, who retired a year ago, I suggested to him that it would be an encouragement to mill-owners if he at once made an inspection himself of that particular mill.

I made the further suggestion, which he at once adopted, that he should take with him the leader of the Home Rule movement in India. Next day the Governor and the Pandit (Malaviya) motored up to this mill to inspect the sanitary arrangements. That is an example of how the Government of India can show sympathy with, and give effective assistance, without any cost to itself, towards putting the industrial conditions on a higher level.

An eye-opener to Pundit Malaviya.

My friend the Pundit was not at all pleased with the result of the expedition. It always troubled him to find that the British of their own accord and with nothing to reap from it were usually ready to put all questions relating to the health and welfare of their people in the first place.

Another no less important matter is the question of education. The educational system in India is a most extraordinary structure ; it is fitted with a magnificent coping and balustrade, but it is built

on sand. India is an absolutely illiterate country. Over 90 per cent. of the people can neither read nor write.

Indian Universities.

India possesses magnificent universities, which turn out graduates by the thousands yearly. Take the University of Calcutta where abuse became so great that it was made the subject of a special inquiry. What does that University do for India? It does nothing but turn out by the thousands annually persons who have been drawn off from the real interests of India and turned adrift to find a living in other directions.

I asked an Indian who was giving evidence in Calcutta what became of the graduates of that University. His answer was a striking answer coming from such a source. He said, "A very few of them become pleaders, the great majority of them become clerks; and those who have not the ability or opportunity to become clerks become sedition mongers." That was the considered opinion of a practical industrial Indian of one of the universities of his own country. That problem is not insoluble. I can give an instance of another side of the picture, which I should like to put before the President of the Board of Education in this country.

If you go to certain mills in Madras, there you will see elaborate, comfortable, delightful, buildings put up for school purposes. Residing in these buildings are two English ladies. The buildings are used for housing classes formed of the children of the people who work in the mills. There is no compulsion. The schools are always full. The children are absolutely free to attend or not to attend. Around the schools are gardens. Every child—the scholars are numbered by hundreds—has his plot of land which he cultivates as he desires, and he takes the product of his cultivation home to his own people.

For brightness, alertness, respectableness and cleanliness these Indian children would compare with the children of similar age in any school you like to name in this country. Yet these very mills were chosen by the political dissentients to foment strike and trouble. That was not because there was any real grievance. The reason for it was that they could not stand such an object lesson of what British people have done for Indians to be always before the eyes of their people.

I am well aware that after the announcement of 10th August, 1917, there can be no question of turning back from the policy which was then declared. It must go forward on lines which the Government, after the fullest consideration, determined to be the best. But I beg the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take into

consideration that it is more important to feed the hungry than to give them political rights, that it is more important to clothe the naked than to invest them with political doctrines and dogmas, and that it is more important to educate the people to be able to vote than it is to give them the vote.

What will be the effect of the franchise? It is estimated that the number enfranchised will be anything from 1 or 2-up to 5 per cent. The greater part of that number will be illiterate people. I presume the voters will be taken blindfold to the ballot boxes or that, as an alternative, the ballot boxes must be embellished in some way to show what they contain or are intended to contain. I presume that one box will be embellished with the Union Jack, another with the Crescent, and another with the emblems which are familiar at every roadside shrine in India.

I rejoice in what the right hon. Gentleman says of the recommendations of this Industrial Commission, which have solely for their object the improvement of industrial conditions of India, and to make India more profitable and more fit for the Indians themselves to enjoy living there, which I trust that no political considerations will be allowed to cloud.

Colonel Wedgwood began by saying that he was "shocked to find that" Dr. Hopkinson "is such a gross materialist". Freedom and not the improvement of industrial conditions were "the ultimate object of British rule in India". How came it that the bulk of the Indian revenue was to be eaten up by the military, police, and railway programme in India, whereas education and irrigation were to be starved? Why was it that the Government of India were going to spend £23 million out of £24 million on "the purchase of railway material in Great Britain at a time when railway material is extremely expensive, at a time when it is possible to buy up our scrapped railways from France and other theatres of War at a price that would be extremely remunerative to the British Government". He contended that the "whole of the budget bears witness to the fact that it is one passed by Englishmen in India, and not one to which Indian people would agree," and that it "must give rise to the feeling that, in spite of all our brave words, the government of that country is directed rather towards the interests of this Island than to the interests of the country where the money is raised by people who have worked hard to find it".

The proposals for constitutional reform are defective because they conceded very little power over the purse to Indians, and did not transfer the police and other vital subjects to Indians. He considered that the Southborough Reports really whittled away the Montagu

Chelmsford Report. In recommending the enfranchisement of but 5 million men, on a property basis which was high for India, Lord Southborough left the lower middle classes in the cold, and whereas a considerable percentage of the electors would be illiterate, millions upon millions of literate Indians would be left voteless. He denounced the privileged position that had been assigned to the plutocrats, and to Europeans, Eurasians, and native Christians. The vote that was being given to "every pensioned officer and non-commissioned officer" would "establish a sort of permanent Varangian guard to see that the electorate shall never possibly be wrong". He particularly disliked the system of indirect representation recommended by Lord Southborough, and warned the Secretary of State against permitting the bureaucracy "to form a union with reactionary native elements in India that develop schemes which Indians may accept, but which in the long run will be bad for India".

Colonel Wedgwood's statement that the Rowlatt Act had been passed although the elected representatives of the Indian people "voted against it to a man," appealed to the House. The legislation was directed against men who were considered inconvenient—men like Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Outhwaite, he himself, who some persons regard as "dangerous to society," but who really are "the salt of the earth".

If the British Government did more justice in India and followed less the behests of expediency "it would do good to the British name in future, and in the long run it would lead to happier relations between this country and India". He protested not merely against the Rowlatt Bills, but declared that "the Government must understand that the repression of these riots by means of bombs from aeroplane and machine guns have produced an even worse effect than the original passage of the Rowlatt Act". Sir Michael O' Dwyer had found the Panjab calm when he went there six years ago, and was bequeathing "to his successor a revolutionary spirit which runs from one end to the other". He told the House "that there should be an enquiry into not only the murders of English people," but also into those administrative acts—the "use of aeroplane bombs" the "arrest of men like Gandhi," and the "employment of the *agent provocateur* by the police force". He asked the House not to forget that the Indian National Congress did not wish permanent officials to be installed as Governors. What one "particular bureaucrat" had done to embitter "the relations between two great peoples" showed how very necessary it was to concede the Indian demand.

Mr. Bennett (Sevenoaks, C. U.) remarked that good effects would be produced in India by the introduction of the Indian Budget at this early date and by the determination expressed by the Sec-

retary of State to go forward with his projected reforms. If in India we firmly asserted the law on the one hand and on the other met the legitimate aspirations of the people and showed them that we were in sympathy with their progressive ideas, then he believed the problem would be solved. He resented the doubt which had been cast, or was sought to be cast, on the loyalty of the moderates in India. He paid a tribute to the successful policy of Sir George Lloyd on the occasion of the Bombay demonstrations on April 11. The situation on the morning of that day was most critical, but the troops and the police were instructed that no finger was to be lifted against the demonstrators unless disorder took place. A native paper stated that the police were regarded by the public as their friends almost for the first time in the annals of Indian administration, and the name of Sir George Lloyd was on everybody's lips.

An Amendment

Mr. Neil Mc. Lein (Labour) moved an amendment "that in the opinion of this House the operation of the two Criminal Law (Amendment) Bills which issued from the Rowlatt Report and which have been recently before the Indian Legislature should be suspended until this House has had an opportunity of expressing an opinion upon them. He was afraid that the position of the Government in India to-day was very much the same as in the past. He reminded Mr. Montagu that the Government of India was still "too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antidiluvian to be of any use for the modern purposes we have in view", and that the system of Government is still so "cumbersome, so designed as to prevent efficiency and change. If there were only 400 dangerous people in India out of 225 millions what was the necessity for that drastic legislation? He appealed to Mr. Montagu to disallow the Rowlatt Act, which, he asserted would be used to prevent Indians from demanding better conditions, and to appoint a Judicial Committee to consider the question and to let the Indian people know that the House of Commons at least would look on them as brothers and partners in the Empire. Mr. Spoor (Bishop Auckland, Lab.) seconded the motion.

Mr. Montagu in reply, regretted that he was still of opinion that as temporary measure the Rowlatt Act was necessary, and he could not accept the amendment. The Rowlatt Commission came to the conclusion that to deal with this particular form of revolutionary crime the ordinary procedure of law could not be relied on. He agreed that revolutionary movements could not be eradicated merely by legislation to deal with the guilty, but the Rowlatt Act was only to maintain order in the country while the great schemes of reforms were going through.

The amendment was negatived without a division. The debate was continued by Colonel Yate (Melton C. U.), Lieutenant-Colonel A. Murray (Kincardine and Western, C. L.), Mr. A. Shaw (Kilkarnock, C. L.) and Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy (Hull, Central, L.)

Captain OrmsbyGore (Stafford, C.U.) was glad the Secretary of State was quite firm on the maintenance of law and order in India. He hoped that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme would become law at the earliest possible moment. He urged that when the scheme took the form of a Bill the measures should not be referred to a Joint Committee, but should go through both Houses in the usual way. Political reform in India must be accompanied by a real reform of the educational system and an effort to develop the resources of India. "Hitherto," he said, "by a fiscal system imposed by this country, suited to us, but not suited to or welcomed by India we have refrained, both in our fiscal system and to the prejudice on the part of the Government of India, from spending the revenue of India in the development of native Industries and specially on technical education."

In his opinion the British "ought to encourage the wealth and prosperity equally of all parts of His Majesty's Dominions". "We are an Imperial Parliament," he declared feelingly, "and we must in this matter think Imperially" he pleaded eloquently "that there should be no further opportunity of India saying that England had selfishly imposed upon her a fiscal, commercial, and industrial system in her own interests, which is not in the interest of Indian development and Indian prosperity". This was well received by the House.

The House then went into Committee, and the financial resolution on the East Indian Revenue Accounts was agreed to.



INDIA ABROAD

1918.

MONTAGU'S CAMBRIDGE SPEECH.

Mr. Montagu delivered an important speech on Indian reforms at a meeting of the Cambridge Liberal Association on July 27, 1918. The audience included many Indians.

In the course of his speech he referred to Thyssen's pamphlet cabled on January 23rd and emphasised the Kaiser's declaration in it that India would be conquered by Germany, that the rich revenue of Indian princes would flow in a golden stream to the Fatherland, and that in all the richest lands of the earth the German flag would fly over every other flag. That was the German idea of imperialism, namely subjugation, domination, spoliation and theft. No wonder India had taken steps to protect itself. Half a million men would come into the Indian army in the coming year compared with 15,000 yearly before the war. He was glad to say it was not only as privates that Indians were enlisting. There were already Indian officers holding His Majesty's commission in Palestine and Mesopotamia, and they would be followed by others in substantial numbers.

How much more India could do for us and for herself now had her industries only been developed in the past! When India set out to make things like railway engines, trucks and even rails she found herself requiring machines from overseas which it was impossible to get on the necessary scale, and also skilled workers who were now so scarce all over the world. That state of things must end. One of the first duties of the Government of India must be to start and steadily promote a policy which would enable India more and more to supply her needs by her own efforts out of her almost immeasurable resources.

The Reform Report.

Referring to the Report he said: The educated Indian was taught in our schools by our teachers. He had learnt our ideals there and it was unjust to find fault with him when he asked what we had taught him to ask, namely, free institutions and self-government. Let us have it out once for all what was to be the

principle of our government in India. Was it to be domination,—subordination to the iron hand, where we have one principle of Government for India and another principle for the rest of the Empire? How had we built up South Africa, Australia, Canada and New Zealand? Was not the principle of the British Empire the principle of a Commonwealth of free nations? Were we not to extend it to India? Was the ideal of our empire geographical, not moral? What if we said that to our American allies? What if when we talked of the British ideal of self-governing institutions we drew a line somewhere in the Indian ocean and said thus far and no further. That sort of theory was utterly impossible, utterly out of harmony with British ideas. During the past week he had been sitting with Patiala and Sir S. P. Sinha in the Imperial War Conference and War Cabinet. Indians were increasingly being put in charge of districts all over India. One of the most successful military hospitals in Mesopotamia was in charge of an Indian medical officer. All this meant that we were putting Indians into important positions right up to the supreme authority of the British Empire, namely, the Imperial War Cabinet. Had they ever known a case in the history of the British Empire when what was called relaxation of British control had not meant closer union of the country concerned to the rest of the Empire? Unfortunately India was at the moment not ready and disaster would await anyone wishing to give Home Rule to India to-day. The principle of our Government of India should be progressive realisation of responsible Government, step by step, as India proved to the satisfaction of the people of Britain and their representatives in Parliament that she was ready for it, until one day we should complete the process and India too would take her place as one of the free nations in the Commonwealth of Nations called the British Empire. That was the principle, that was the mission on which he went to India in order to advise the Government upon progressive realisation of responsible government within the British Empire, and that was the principle on which the report was founded. Would those who criticised the report ask themselves whether they admitted the principle? If they did, they could proceed to argue about the report; if they did not there was no weapon probably except personal abuse. If they admitted the principle he asked them to search their hearts. Some who said that they accepted the principle attacked the scheme which was intended to carry out the principle and would indeed attack any scheme because really in their hearts they did not admit the principle. Let them first admit the

principle and then examine the scheme dealing with the proposals themselves.

The only way to teach men to exercise vote was to give them one, and the only way to teach them to use the vote wisely and well was to give the people who were entrusted with power by the vote something worth doing. It was useless to ask a man to vote for his representative if that representative was powerless.

Their first step, therefore, was to suggest that there should be as wide a representative direct franchise in India as could possibly be devised.

Three Alternatives in Provincial Government.

Regarding the functions of the Provincial Government there were only three alternatives: Firstly, to keep them under complete official control. That would not be a move towards responsible government. Secondly, to give all the functions of Government to the Indians. That was not a move which we were justified in making to-day. Therefore the only remaining alternative was to give them some functions of Government now and leave others to be transferred to their control when we saw how they were getting on and how representative their new Parliaments were likely to be. He invited critics to tell him what other course there was.

He had seen one constructive idea, namely, to select a little piece of India and make it a republic under the control of political officers and if that went well to enlarge the republic or to have other republics. That scheme did not commend itself to him. It was advanced by people loud in the belief that India was not fit for self-government and they proposed to demonstrate it by giving to one unfortunate part of India what they professed to believe no part of India was ready for.

There were enemies of responsible government in India who would seek to make it impossible by bringing it about too fast. There were people who said that democratic institutions were impossible in the East and they pointed to Russia and Persia. *They did not often point to Japan.* Some people in India thought that they were not going fast enough; the proposals had even been described as retrograde as increasing the power of the bureaucracy. It was only necessary to read the report to see that that was untrue.

No Distrust of the Indian People.

He could understand some Indians disregarding and discarding the proposals if they found in them what they were always suspicious of finding, namely, distrust of the Indian people. No such distrust existed in the minds of those who drew up the proposals. He did not believe any such distrust would be found in the proposals. He would explain on what the limitations and reservations in the proposals were based. They must look at facts. India was not yet, as critics in England were never tired of telling, in the true sense of the word a nation. There were differences of caste, religion and race accompanied by differences of objects and aims. It must be remembered that an overwhelming proportion of the people at present knew nothing of political institutions and could not read or write. I do not mention these things as matters of blame. They were things we want to help to remedy. If India was not a nation we want to see it a nation.

During the war from one end of India to the other one found the Indians keen about the defence against the invader—a new national and imperial spirit. One saw signs of a greater India, a greater desire for co-operation among different races of India, and we want to help this development by giving them a common task. But there are factors long operating which militate against joint action, and the Government ought not to be asked to disregard these factors and treat India as if it were comparable with any other part of the British Empire.

Fitness to be proved at the bar of Parliament.

Whenever India could prove at the Bar of the Parliament that these conditions were being cured, that education was spreading, that an electorate had been created, and that differences between races were disappearing, so surely under the scheme must Parliament give more and more power to Indians. If these limitations of time and experience were disregarded, he believed it would be fatal to the whole experiment. As the result of the proposals, he would see British control relaxed as Indian control was substituted, and he would see thereby the connection of love, affection and gratitude between India and England strengthened and increased. But the control must be Indian control, not the control of one section of the people, and must be exercised through representative electorates.

Some said it would be better to postpone it till after the war, but they would not say so if they favoured it. It was always the people who did not like a thing who favoured doing it to-morrow or next day. The pronouncement of His Majesty's Government was that substantial steps should be taken in this direction as soon as possible.

Scheme open to modification.

It would be arrogant to a degree of folly to say that the scheme as it stood had to be passed into law. Its authors submitted it with a full sense of responsibility for criticism. If anybody would suggest a better way they would find it in them and in the Government heartfelt thanks and ready acceptance. But whether it was by this way or some other way, we had to put the feet of India on the road to national good and self-government. Otherwise all the glorious work which generations of Englishmen had done to build up that great empire would lack its supreme vindication and justification. It would be said that what we had succeeded in doing in every other part of the British Empire, except for the moment unfortunately in Ireland, that what our forefathers, for example, Sir Thomas Monro and Macaulay, said that we ought to do, we had failed to do in India. It would be said of us that we went on untiringly in unimaginative but excellent regions of material well-being and prosperity, but that when we came in India alone to tackle the task of feeding man's soul by teaching him, equipping him, and giving him power to decide his own destinies, we were too timid to do it. That was a criticism which we could not risk in the judgment of history. It was a criticism which there was no reason to risk and he begged the people of Britain not to think that they could cut the knot by throwing India to its untrained people at this moment, nor by refusing to begin progressive realisation of responsible Government, step by step, giving the Indians opportunity and knowledge that they had only to prove that they had acquired the necessary habits and conventions of political life and responsibility to gain the whole measure which other countries enjoyed. If we did that, we made India for ever peaceful and we had a right to except from India for ever peace and contentment within the British Empire.

Montagu's Election Speech at Cambridge—Nov. 1918.

[In the course of his election speech at Cambridge delivered in Nov. 1918 Mr. Montagu said that he had a few words to say upon a subject of interest and importance to himself, namely, the pledge given to the great Empire of India through him and repeated by the Premier and Mr. Bonar Law in the Election manifesto recently issued.]

India's Part in the War.

During the War 1,161,789 Indians had been recruited and 1,215,338 men had been sent overseas from India, 101,439 of whom had become casualties. Nobody could say that India, owing to her sympathy with the Allies' cause and her belief in our ideals, did not, of her own free will, share our trouble and bear her part in our victory and show herself a partner in the British Empire as she must be treated in the future. If I am returned to Parliament it would be my principal endeavour to continue the work I have begun, to launch India securely along the path to Self Government. The proposals in the Report had not met with universal approbation.

Two Sets of Opponents.

The principal opponents belonged to two sets. Firstly, those who, like Mrs. Besant and her friends of the Indian National Congress, thought he had not gone far enough, and secondly, those who like Lord Sydenham and the Indo-British Association thought he had gone much too far. He had been greatly surprised to find the two sets agreed on one point, namely, that the proposals did conform to the principles of the announcement of August 20, 1917.

Nobody would be gladder than himself if he could feel that India today was ready for Home Rule but nobody, not even the extreme partisans, could say that India was ready for Home Rule to-day. He would not be concerned with the Government of India if he did not believe that if the Indians were given an opportunity of serving their country and working together, a growing sense of Nationalism would come. If he did not believe them, there would be no promise in these Reforms. All that could now be said was that there was a minority looking forward to the day when they could achieve what they, like himself, desired. He wanted Self-Government for India to be a success, and in order that it might be a success he looked forward to giving increased opportunities. The

safeguards did not mean mistrust. Contingencies must be provided for.

Lord Sydenham's Suggestions Ridiculed.

Lord Sydenham had made seven recommendations, the first six of which were taken from the Report. Lord Sydenham wanted a large increase in decentralisation; so did the report. He wanted direct representation, so did the Report. He wanted greater liberty for the Provincial Governments from the Central Government, but he could not give any power over the Provincial Governments, the Report would. Lord Sydenham wanted to give complete responsibility in local Provincial affairs; so did the Report; so did Lord Ripon in 1885. Lord Sydenham would be satisfied with giving what ought to have been given thirty years ago. For the rest he would take one or two districts in every province, remove the British Civil Service, and put in the Indian Civil Servants and thereby he thought he would satisfy the pronouncement of August 20th. If such proposals were carried India would have every right to say that we had broken our pledges. If they must have a controversy on the Reforms he begged Lord Sydenham and his friends to conduct it in the interests of India and to recognise that everything else was of secondary consideration.

He had just been handed a circular from Lord Sydenham asking for subscriptions to the Indo-British Association as insurance premiums for British interests in India. That was not the way to build up an Empire. That was not a principle to be tolerated in consideration of this great Imperial question. British trade had done marvels for India, but he rested his case on the welfare of the Indian people. The interest of a Constitution could not be bartered for the interest of any trade. On this great question, they must decide between the spirit of to day and the spirit of 317 years ago.

Lord Lansdowne.

Lord Lansdowne in the House of Lords recently regretted his (Montague's) promise of responsible Government for India. It is even said that the Indian soldiers opposed this. Mr. Montague in this connection quoted a letter he had received from an Indian officer in Palestine. The officer declared that all sensible Muhammadans favoured the Montague-Chelmsford Report and proceeded.—“Things in India have changed very much and are rapidly changing. What I see in the Indian army to-day would scarcely be believed. Would

you believe that the Brahmanas, Rajputs, Sikhs and Muhammadans will dine at the same table without even a shade of caste prejudice? In the regiments which have been serving in France all Indian officers on many occasions mess together. Also there is a wonderful change in their aspirations and views."

This letter answered Lord Lansdowne. His great predecessor, Lord Morley, remarked that it was not easy for a man to apply to a new time the experience gained in a generation of honest labour in an olden time. The choice must now be made between the epoch of Lord Lansdowne and the epoch of Lord Chelmsford.

The India of to-day

If you could see the India Britain has done so much to build up, the quickening effect of education we have introduced, which India so eagerly desires to extend, if you could realise the potential wealth that awaits the investment of British capital for the benefit of India, if you acknowledged the marvellous response to our demand which our cause has aroused in India, if you realised how the supply of men was only limited by the lack of training and habit, how the supply of material was only limited by undeveloped manufacturing capacity, how the supplies generally were only limited by poverty caused by undeveloped resources, if you knew the eager welcome given to the principle of partnership in the Empire, then I am sure you would sympathise with my determination,—despite the frenzied complaint of those who would risk all in their hurry and bitter wailing, those who would treat India as a sort of crystallised fruit,—to do my share in finishing the work begun and to see Britain and India indissolubly united in an ideal of freedom.

THE "NATION" ON INDIAN REFORMS

[The following is an extract from the Editorial column of the "Nation" of May 25, 1918. This is one of those sober English Papers which alike for its breadth of view and perspicacity of judgment has made the name of England endearing to all. Its presentation of the Indian cause is so clear, unprejudiced, and just that there is hardly anything which the most ardent Indian Nationalist can profitably urge more or add to it—ED.]

A Coalition, whether it deals with Ireland or with India, is apt to be the most dangerous of all forms of Government in a

composite Empire. A Tory Government may yield nothing but it excites no defusive expectations. A Liberal Government may arouse hopes, and in some measure fulfil them. A Coalition is apt to promise, while its acts render fulfilment impossible. We dare not risk in India the failures and provocations which two successive Coalitions have accumulated in Ireland. The parallel is ominous, but it would be folly to refuse to face risks which lie in the nature of these combinations... Let us hope that Mr. Montague will be more fortunate than Mr. Duke, but it will be well to adjust our calculations to the probability that the bureaucracy and the well-organised British commercial interests in India will find backing in the War Cabinet for their opposition to any large or significant concessions. The recent refusal to allow a deputation of influential Indian nationalists to come to England to state their case is a reminder that the forces of resistance are alert and strongly posted at the centre of power.

There is one circumstance in the Indian problem which may incline even the most realistic and the least generous of the older school to large concessions. The military aspect of our eastern problems had changed fundamentally since Mr. Montague's appointment was first made.

The German line lay no farther East than Poland, and in Asiatic Turkey the Russian Army was holding on advanced line which included the Armenian provinces. To-day the crumbling of the Russian State has opened to the Turco-Germans a door of penetration which may carry them dangerously near to the outposts of India. The effect of the German advance is evident in Persia. The benevolent interest of Berlin in Afghanistan, of which the latest phase is the suggestion that the Ameer should be provided with a port in Baluchistan, is another symptom of the trend of German policy.

This Turco-German penetration of the northern roads which lead to the backdoors of India can have no dangers for us, unless all sense of statesmanship deserts us. The future depends on our realisation of the fact that the true defence of India in the generations to come must be neither distance nor the sea, neither deserts nor the Himalayas, but the

Contentment of the Indian peoples

with their lot. This vast population would laugh at the bare suggestion of invasion if it were mobilised to defend a State which

it regarded as its own. The key to the military problem is policy. If ever we had ventured to make India a self-supporting, defensive unit, it would have ceased to be a lure for conquerors. That means however, the abandonment of the jealous traditions which feared to train native officers, feared to entrust native regiments with artillery, and omitted to build up in India the local industries on which a modern army must depend. These fears were prudent only so long as we conceived of ourselves as conquerors governing by the sword. They will vanish when once we have faced the necessity of conceding Indians Self-Government. India can be held against all comers if Indians feel that they are defending not merely the soil of their native land but a Government based on their own consent. If, on the other hand, we hesitate to give, or give grudgingly, it follows that we shall continue to neglect its defensive resources, adhere to the tradition of confiding its defence to a White garrison, and thereby risk, not perhaps its loss but at least intrigues and alarms which may and must make our continued rule in India burdensome to ourselves and irksome to its people. To say that

The Danger to India

lies at some distant date to a successful foreign invasion is to take a very narrow view. The odds are that the actual invasion will never be risked, or will fail if the attempt is made. The danger rather is that a discontented India whose millions we dare not arm for the defence of their Motherland is a standing invitation to intriguing politicians and ambitious soldiers. Their plots, their temptations, and above all, their armaments and our counter armaments are danger enough without an actual invasion. If we will not arm India to defend herself, we must permanently conscribe our own manhood to do it. If we do arm her, it follows that we first see to it that she is contented with her lot.

Contentment is not a condition of mind into which a country can be hypnotised by phrases. The Indian demand for Home Rule is only a way of summing up the will of a people to deal itself with a whole complex of problems which touch its interest and its self-respect. The land which still dazzles the ambitious soldier is so poor that the daily income of its inhabitants was reckoned, at the opening of this century, at something less than a penny a head. Sir Charles Elliott, a very high authority, said that "half the agricultural population never knows from year's end to

year's end what it is to have their hunger satisfied." Even to-day only one-fifth of the children of school-age go to school, though native Baroda has contrived to establish universal education.

Grievance of the Colour Line

The grudging admission of Indians to responsible posts, the closing to them, until Mr. Montague's recent decision, of commissioned ranks in the Army, and the rankling insult of their treatment in our Colonies—all these things have made our problem something more than a question of political machinery. Home Rule means for Indians the power to remedy these grievances. If Mr. Montague's proposals are still transitional, as we suppose they will be, and stop short of full responsible government, the interval which separate them from that ideal must not be large, and the grant must carry with it its own latent promise of expansion. If for the time the Central Government is still an English Bureaucracy and if the Viceroy's Council, however it may be developed, fall short of being a sovereign representative body, there must be compensation in the provinces. Unless these at least, subject to the veto of the Viceroy's Government, are given responsible government, the scheme will fall dangerously short of satisfying Indian aspirations. A fairly long traditional period already lies behind us, and Lord Morley's reforms are a foundation on which a much more imposing structure of autonomy must now be built. The War has changed all the conditions of our problem. It has made of the "self-determination" of subject peoples an ideal to which all civilised governments do homage, even if it be only lip-homage. The pace of reforms has been quickened. Mankind must contrive to cover in a few years an evolution which in normal times might have been spread over a generation.

MR. BERNARD HOUGHTON ON REFORMS.

[The following is an extract from an article which appeared in "India," the Congress Organ in England, over the signature of Mr. Bernard Houghton, late of the Indian Civil Service.]

The Simla Government has in some respects administered India well. But, as the Report says, "it is no longer sufficient to

administer India." It is no longer sufficient to say, as some would have it: "We give you justice; we give you order; we give you roads; we put those who so desire it in the way of making money; what more do you want?" Here is no case for the official, however painstaking, but for the statesman;—for a statesman who, like Cavour, will plan, knead, and mould all circumstances, level all obstacles, concentrate all energies on the single object in view—in this case, responsible government. From this standpoint Simla has an ill record. It does not inspire trust.

The Government which has shown its efficiency in Mesopotamia, its loyalty by the ignoring of Lord Morley's orders on local self-government, its liberalism by the internments without trial, its sympathy with free institutions by the Press and other arbitrary Acts, does not come to the task with clean hands. But this is not the worst. The whole tone of the resolutions and acts of the Government, the speeches of its Ministers in the Council Chamber, breathe a settled hostility to popular aspirations and evince a resolution to yield no power save under duress. To hand over the control of these momentous reforms to such officials is like handing over the introductions of free institutions in Germany to a Ministry of Prussian Junkers or the establishment of Home Rule to the Orange Grand Committee. There is no community of aim. There is rather antagonism of will.

But, it will be said, surely the Report has introduced modifications into the government of India which may breathe some life into the dry bones of officialdom. Modifications there are but they do not suffice. The addition of another Indian in the Executive Council can achieve little, even if, as by no means follows, he is in full sympathy with the great popular movement in India. The Legislative Council will, indeed, for the first time, have an elected majority. But its power is paralysed by the creation of a new Council of State which avowedly will answer all the purposes of the old official bloc. So much for the credit. On the debit side we read that Simla will be less under the control of the (reformed) India Office, that the staff will be increased, and, perhaps, even less in touch with district life than hitherto, that "the capacity of the Government of India to obtain its will in all essential matters must be unimpaired." Small wonder that some prominent Indians, on reading these provisions, have confessed to a feeling akin to despair. How can India receive with a smile reforms which leave Simla, the head and front of the bureaucratic system, unreformed, nay, rather strengthened against the people's will? "Did men laugh,"

once exclaimed Voltaire, "when they saw Phalairs' bull being made red hot?" Either a new and popular spirit must be infused into the Central Government or its power must be vastly curtailed. Simla must be either bettered or fettered. Otherwise, the Montague-Chelmsford scheme will fail, exactly as the Morley-Minto scheme has failed, and its failure may wreck alike the honour of England and the weal of India.

The least measure that can bring about a degree of harmony between Simla and the Indian people, and ensure that it will neither let nor hinder but truly help forward the march towards self-government, would seem to lie in reform of the central government on the same lines as those in the Provinces. That is to say, certain subjects should be transferred to Indian Ministers selected from the Legislative Assembly, who will also be members of the Executive Council. Only, as I have already suggested in the case of the Provinces, the Minister or Ministers must be responsible to the Assembly and removable by it. There can be no training in self-government without a responsible elected Assembly, and without power there is no responsibility. In such a change there is nothing cataclysmal, nothing to inspire fear or to shake confidence. It forms a reasonable halfway house on the way to self-government. It gives occasion whereby the people may learn the art of ruling, the rulers may shed the hard shell of bureaucracy. Through it the central government, now so isolated, must inevitably be brought more into sympathy and harmony with the new life in India.

If, as none may doubt, the goal before India is federation, the Council of State may well remain as the embryo of a future Senate. The function of a Senate is to preserve the autonomy, the independent life, of the Provinces, whilst the other Chamber expresses, develops, and quickens the life of the nation as a whole. Of necessity the Council of State will at first have a strong official tinge. For that reason, and because the present is a stage of transition and training, its power over transferred subjects should be limited. In reserved subjects it should be supreme. It might hold a position analogous to the Grand Committees in the Provinces.

Lord Sydenham on Indian Reforms.

[The following appeared in the "National News" of England over the signature of Lord Sydenham. This is one of his Lordship's most clear presentation of his views of the matter.]

For more than four years the British people have been fighting for their existence in conditions of increasing stress. Sacrifices have been demanded from all alike. Sorrows have touched every home. The freedom of the individual has given way to the stern exigencies of War, and burdens of many kinds have been cheerfully borne. As we strive to follow the swaying fortunes of our arms, rejoicing in the splendid gallantry and devotion of our sailors and soldiers on sea and in the air, grieving for the heavy losses and the suffering entailed, and working strenuously to supply the needs of our fighting men, there has been no time to watch the rapid growth of a dangerous movement in India. In our intense preoccupation, the small section of English-educated politicians of the Indian upper caste saw their opportunity and have turned it to the fullest account. We are now face to face with demands based upon the avowed intention of making British Rule impossible, and we shall, while still engrossed in the world War, be called upon to take decisions upon which the fate of India must depend.

A Seditious Group.

When War broke out it was certain that the Princes and Chiefs of India who realise what the downfall of Britain must mean to their class, would heartily and generously support the Imperial cause. It was as certain that the gallant Indian Army, under British officers whom it loved and trusted, would fight bravely wherever duty called. So much everyone who knew India confidently expected. What we did not expect was that the invaluable help of the Chiefs and of the fighting classes of India and the resources of the country, the utilisation of which for War purposes has brought wealth and prosperity to many Indians, would be alleged as valid reasons for handing over power to a little fraction of the population which has not only done nothing to help the Empire at a crisis in its fate, but has, by raising a ferment in India and by preaching contempt for British Rule broadcast since the War began, done its utmost to increase our abounding difficulties.

'Grave happenings' kept secret.

The Report of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State practically admits this claim, and is mainly concerned with finding means of placating the little body of political agitators who have not even taken the trouble to veil their objects. The authors of this report disregard the grave happenings in India since August 1914, of which the public at home has been kept in ignorance. They are as oblivious of the pregnant experience of recent years, which has shown that every concession to the political party has led to outrages and to fresh demands couched in truculent language. Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal, which was welcomed by the Mohamedan population of the severed portion, was made the excuse for a violent agitation, which was not in the least appeased when the territorial frontiers of the Bengali nation were restored in 1911. The announcement that Lords Morley and Minto were incubating reforms led to a dangerous campaign of seditious oratory in Upper India and elsewhere, necessitating special measures of precaution. Then followed bomb outrages and the assassination of Europeans, to be succeeded by the murder of Indian police officers. The mission of Mr. Montague to India—a concession to agitation in the middle of the War—gave a fresh impulse to the forces of disorder, and the shameful organised attacks by Hindus upon peaceful Moslem villagers in Bihar was planned in anticipation of "reforms" which were expected to mark the further weakening of British rule. Whenever there has been yielding to the political *clique*, as in the release of Mrs. Besant from her pleasant place of internment, an increase of clamour and vituperation has resulted.

A Crazy Constitution.

No one who has not closely followed the "Home Rule" or "Self-government within the Empire" movement during recent years, its propaganda and effects, can form an accurate estimate of the certain result of the adoption of the crazy constitution which the Report attempts to set forth. There are defects in our system of government which have often been pointed out, and some of them are now to be remedied; but that system has worked miracles in India, and there is not the faintest sign of a real popular desire for any change. The number of Indians holding offices of every kind has been steadily increasing. The Viceroy and Secretary of State record, but fail to perceive, the significance of the fact that,

under the Morley-Minto Reforms, Government has "generally preferred to give way" when face to face "with anything approaching solid opposition on the part of Indian members." In other words, Indian opinion—as is right and proper—now carries full weight. Where these Reforms have failed is that the elected Members of Council represent only a small privileged minority of the population, and nearly half of them are lawyers whose interests are, in too many cases, antagonistic to those of the real people of India. Here lies scope for further changes directed to ensure the representation of the working classes. A drastic overhauling of the whole system of education, which is visibly retarding progress, would be the wisest reform that could be undertaken; but only a strong Government could carry it out in face of interested political opposition.

Russia's Lesson.

Everyone who realises all that is now at stake in India, the great Imperial interests involved in the maintenance of order, the wonderful progress since the Mutiny, and the appalling object lesson which the collapse of authority in Russia has provided, must study the proposals of the Report. The picture of Indian conditions which it presents fails to portray essential facts. The object at which it aims is to appease an artificial agitation by concessions which would have the effect of undermining all authority in India, and, by the administrative confusion which they involve, would powerfully stimulate and even justify the demand for more. So long as India is absolutely dependent upon Great Britain for internal order, for protection against external aggression, and for the credit which is enabling her to build up industries steadily growing, the paramount power of our Rule must be maintained, not by constitutional artifices, but as a living force everywhere recognised and respected. A Government which shows weakness is doomed.

VISCOUNT MORLEY ON INDIAN REFORMS.

National Liberal Club—June 25, 1918.

[At the National Liberal Club (Eng.) there was a distinguished gathering of eminent Indians, many M. Ps, and Lords, under the presidency of the Marquis of Lincolnshire on the unveiling of a marble bust of Lord Morley presented to him by his friends and admirers, mainly Indian. Lady Baig (Abbas Ali) unveiled the bust, and Sir M. Bhawanagre presented it with a fitting speech. Lord Morley thanked them in reply and in the course of his speech made a reference to the Indian Reforms then uppermost in everyone's mind.]

The motto of Lord Minto and himself was "Rally the moderates" and he hoped that that would continue to be the aim. Whatever changes might be necessary, no security could be certain unless they had the moderates with them. Lord Minto once wrote to him, "I do believe we can accumulate great influence if we only give to the people of India evidence of sympathy." Then the present Sovereign of this realm, who had just returned from India, made a speech at the Guildhall in which he said that sympathy was the keyword to success in holding the loyalty of and doing service for the Indians. Sympathy was no substitute for wise government; but, on the other hand, no government was wise which tried to do without it, and that certainly was a maxim that was followed during the time that Lord Minto was responsible for the government of India.

Lord Cromer had said a wise thing when he declared that it was much better to give an Indian an appointment over an Englishman, even though he was the less competent of the two. That was paradoxical, but it meant that you gained more in popular content than you lost in not having the best administrator. One did not need to have the genius of Aristotle to perceive that a Viceroy and a Secretary of State would be all the more likely to understand the feelings, the opinions, the drift of India if they had an Indian on the Advisory Executive Council. Looking back upon that controversy, he would say that the most essential of all reforms was the adoption of the principle that no Indian was unfitted as such to fulfil the highest duties of citizenship and the highest responsibilities of government. He recalled in this connexion the

solemn and sacred promise given by Queen Victoria that membership of any race within the Empire should not disqualify anybody for the holding of office

The admission of an Indian to the Secretary of State's Council was the most stiffly opposed of all the Morley-Minto reforms, but it was now the one reform to which there was no opposition at all. It had been, on the contrary, extended and amplified. In this respect they had been thoroughly justified by experience.

The Reforms.

Neither Lord Minto nor himself ever said that their reforms would put a stop to agitation, or that they would satisfy the political hunger of India. He was content, and he was sure Lord Minto would have been content, when he read that the feeling of the people of India was never so good as in 1914. Lord Hardinge also spoke of the vast political improvement that had taken place, and said it was entirely due to Lord Minto and himself.

Correspondents had asked him what he thought of the proposed reforms. He would be precipitate if he gave a bold "Aye" or "No", or praise or dispraise, though it would not matter if he did. He had given a careful study to the report. "Copiousness," he remarked "makes every thing more respectable to me; it is a literary habit", but he was not going to pronounce on the clauses, or what might happen on the Committee stage. He felt that he could not be mistaken in tracing the lineaments of the parental physiognomy of 1909 in the progeny of 1918. He had been reproached for stating that he would not take part in a reform of India that might lead to an Indian Parliament. He would like to know what was meant by a Parliament. He did not know whether the outcome of the proposals now before the country would amount to a Parliament, and what sort of a Parliament it would be. Therefore, that might well be postponed. But no one could suppose for a moment that all the convulsion and passion sweeping over the world was going to pass India by. Nothing could be more irrational than to imagine the people of India as saying that they were out of all this and wanted nothing. There were great and powerful bodies of Indians of whom that was not in the least degree true. As to the immediate proposals, he had the privilege and advantage of being the col-

league of the Secretary of State for India, and while he felt that Mr. Montagu's orders were more likely to be, on the whole recommended than any other that could be imagined, he deprecated at this early stage in the discussion of the matter the kind of truculence of tone already adopted by some organs of opinion who treated this serious and important movement in connexion with India as if it were a mere passing difference in our own public and political life. We needed all the freedom from party passion that we could get to bring us safely through the difficult position in which we were. He had the highest admiration for the zealous counsels and active experience and influence which Mr. Montagu had brought to bear on the problems of Indian government from the day that he entered the India Office, and no doubt he had continually cast the lead and taken his soundings before making his recommendations. Was it surprising that India should show herself alive and awake to all the events that were now passing in the world?

Lord Macaulay once said :—"Do you think we can give the Indians knowledge without awakening their ambition? Do you think we can awaken their ambition without giving them some legitimate vent for it?" And then he said :—"It may be the public mind of India may expand under our system 'until it has outgrown our system'"—that was to say, that, having become instructed in European knowledge, the Indians might in some future age demand European institutions. That was a process, said he, which would have to be carefully watched. It would have to be faced, and those would be just and wise statesmen who did not shrink from letting the Imperial public realise all that might lie before them. It could not be met by dogmatic negatives; there could have to be considerate treatment, whether in the form of Mr. Montagu's proposals or in any other form.

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH ON THE REFORMS.

[The following appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* (Lond.) of Aug. last. As a sample of the Anti-Indian Reform campaign led by Lord Sydenham and the Indo-British Association the article quoted below will be read with interest in India.]

If it were not for our pre-occupation with the War, especially at so critical a time in its present course, we should be probably paying more attention to some of those questions about

Indian reform which were raised by Lord Sydenham in the House of Lords a week ago. We confess to a certain uneasiness on the subject, because points of great importance, as it seems to us, are being taken as settled, and considerations which are very germane to the issue are being put aside and neglected. When the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was placed before the House, it was settled that certain Committees should be appointed in order to examine the details of the scheme, and the natural inference was that their report would be submitted to the House before any further steps were taken. We have now before us the views taken by the non-official members of the Legislative Council and we will venture to say that such remarkable proposals are by no means of a kind that can be accepted without a great deal of anxious consideration. So far we can gather from the telegrams received from Simla, the Committee of non-official members of the Legislative Council, although approving in principle the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, allow themselves to make recommendations which are not so much of the nature of reforms as in their essence revolutionary. Naturally, perhaps, they ask for the introduction of responsible government into the Government of India, with a division of reserved and transferred subjects, the latter to be under the control of a Minister or Ministers with consequential budgetary powers. They then proceed to demand fiscal autonomy on the Dominions model, and it is suggested that the Viceroy's powers should be limited to military and political matters, and also to those affecting the defence of India. We have mentioned only the relatively moderate proposals. There are others which go much farther. The Indian Executive Government is to be half European and half Indian; the institution of a Privy Council—a very legitimate object of criticism—is condemned: 50 per cent. of the Indian Civil Service, it is suggested, should be recruited in India, while 25 per cent. of the commissioned officers of the Indian Army must also be Indians. These are the salient proposals; but we may remark that those which were urged by dissentient members of the Committee, were, of course framed after the model of the resolutions passed by the Indian Congress at Bombay. If we were to say that what the Committee demands, or at all events, what some members of the Committee demand, is a complete up-to-date democracy of the Russian type, it would hardly be exaggerating the general tendency of this Report.

Our objection, however, to this or any other scheme put forward does not depend so much on individual propositions as on the kind of assumption which underlies the whole procedure. In our opinion it is absolutely wrong that the India office should take for granted certain changes in India without any adequate discussion of the principles involved. The whole Indian scheme, with its manifest difficulties, and in some cases its absurdities, has never received any adequate discussion in Parliament, and the appointment of these Committees ought to have been surrounded with greater safeguards; at all events they ought not to have been appointed in advance of any general agreement on the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. So far as this country is concerned, we see no reason to presuppose that proposals of an exceedingly serious and far-reaching character must, as a matter of course, and without any hesitation, be approved. To some extent we are being kept in the dark on vital points on which it is absolutely necessary we should have the opportunity for clear and unbiassed opinion. Take the case of the Report of the Rowlatt Committee. Lord Sydenham urged in the House of Lords that though this was a State paper of the greatest significance, we have not yet had the findings of the Committee in any complete form laid before us. "It was essential" Lord Sydenham said, "that Parliament and the public should not be left dependent on extracts from the Indian papers for information in this matter." He made the very natural suggestion that there had been some reluctance in publishing these revelations, for the revelations themselves are extremely serious and important. Within recent years, as most of those who have been in India know, there has been in existence a far reaching revolutionary movement which, to make its menace the more sinister, is under secret control. Of course, the Germans, at the outbreak of the War did all they could to take a part in revolutionary activity. There was definite attempt made to import arms into India, and a very grave and threatening plot in the Punjab was discovered happily just in time. As a matter of fact, the story told by the Rowlatt Committee is that of a widely spread criminal conspiracy with ramifications existing all over the world, and the names of several prominent Indian politicians are mentioned whose speeches and writings were an open incentive to murder and assassination. The defence made for the non-publication of this Report is not of a very convincing character. Lord Islington said that "owing to a misunderstanding" copies of the Report had only been despatched as late as Oct. 9, and that to avoid any further delay the Secretary of State had given instructions that the Report

should be reprinted in this country and laid before Parliament in the course of a fortnight or three weeks. We agree with the Marquis of Crewe that what Lord Islington called a misunderstanding amounts to a really grave blunder. Here is information, equally valuable and serious which, from whatever cause, is kept back, although long ago it ought to have been made available for due consideration by the House. Nor must we forget that, in view of the drastic changes recommended by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, every opportunity ought to be given for a full discussion, not only of the reasons which make this or a similar reform advisable or necessary, but also of the undoubted perils involved in a revolutionary movement, the existence of which everyone acknowledges, but which it seems convenient for certain officials to ignore.

LORD ISLINGTON ON INDIAN REFORMS.

(*Pall Mall Gazette*)

[*The Rt. Hon. Lord Islington, G. C. M. G., D.S.O. P.C. was the Under-Secretary of State for India last year.*]

Those who are indulging in criticism of the proposed constitutional changes for India think too much of conditions as they ought to be and too little of conditions as they are. The ideal must, of course, be kept in sight. But the difficulties that make it impossible to realise the ideal all at once must equally be kept in view. India has never had responsible Government, as we understand it. Indians have not yet become a unified people, though during the past generation they have made considerable progress in that direction. These circumstances make it necessary to go forward with great caution. It is far better to move forward slowly than to take a false step that might prejudice India's future.

I maintain that the only fair way to measure the institutions that are projected is to compare them with those that exist at present in India. Can any one who has made such a comparison say that the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms does not propose a definite break with the past? Can anyone who has made such a comparison deny that Indians are, for the first time, to have a measure of control over the official bureaucracy?

The exact extent to which such control can be handed over is, after all, a matter of detail. The main point is that the principle on which Indian governance is based is to be revolutionised. Anyone

who has grasped that basic fact is sure to agree that we are about to initiate silent but fundamental changes in the methods of Indian administration.

Time has moved forward. The schools, the colleges, and Universities created by us in India have borne abundant fruit. The railways, telegraphs, telephone, posts, and other means of communication introduced by us have helped to wipe out distance and to enable Indians to exchange views freely with one another. Foreign travel and education at our Universities and Inns of Court, and in other countries have enabled thousands of young Indians to obtain a nearer view of our institutions. We should be blind indeed if we did not recognise the potency of the impulses that we have set in motion, or if, recognising it, we refused to give them scope.

The Proposed Arrangement.

Officials, it must be remembered, will not remain masters of all the departments, as they are at present. On the contrary, they will occupy, in several departments, the position that permanent officials occupy in this country, the real head of the departments being the political chief responsible to Indian electorates.

This dual control is a mere transitory arrangement designed to help India to get over the stile. The greater the political aptitude Indians show, the quicker this system will disappear. Therefore, the pace of progress will, in a large measure, be set by Indians themselves.

We ought to take every possible care to ensure that the Indian Legislatures are truly representative of the Indian people, and are not merely composed of classes of superior intellectual power, irrespective of vital interests in the country. I am extremely doubtful that our Western system of territorial electorates will, at present, realise this essential object in India. It is however, unwise to pass final judgment upon the subject, until the labours of the Committees shortly to be appointed to enquire into the franchise and other allied questions, have been completed. But I will add this one observation. The extent, both in regard to number and importance, to which subjects are to be transferred to Ministerial control in provincial Legislatures should largely be determined by the extent to which an electoral system can be adopted, which will ensure a true representation of the people and interests in the Legislative Council of each province.

Lines of Advance.

Many of the critics of the proposed constitutional reforms for India seem to forget that we are contemplating, not merely political changes, but also administrative changes in India. Not only is the element of Responsible Government to be introduced into the major provinces of India, but these provinces are to be given increased financial and administrative power.

I for one—and in this connection I am expressing only my own personal views—am convinced that without thorough-going administrative reform the Indian problem will remain unsolved. As I pointed out last year in the course of the Mesopotamian debate in the House of Lords, and later in the course of an address that I delivered at Oxford, the present centralised system accumulates into its own hands the daily expanding activities and ambitions of that vast continent, 1,098,074 square miles in area, and with a population of over 244,000,000 persons, and as this goes on, the Governor General finds himself becoming more and more the mouthpiece of groups of highly centralised departments out of touch with provincial sentiment. We must reverse this system and give at least the major provinces freedom to manage their affairs without being perpetually subjected to control by the central authority which often causes undue delay.

Administrative Freedom.

In my view the provinces must be given freedom in administrative as well as in financial matters, because you cannot have one without the other. It must, however, be not a mere paper freedom, but an actual, real freedom. It must be remembered, of course, that so long as a part of the provincial administration continues to be autocratically controlled, and therefore not responsible to Indian electorates, it is imperative to exercise a measure of check from above. Such control legitimately belongs to Parliament, and should be exercised through its agent, the Secretary of state for India.

During the six decades that have elapsed since the Act of 1858 was passed, the Secretary of State, who by the Act was furnished with complete power over Indian affairs, has in a large measure, delegated his authority to the Central Government in India. The provincial Governments are not sufficiently masters in their own house and are obliged to look to the Government of India for sanction before they can carry out work of purely local concern, often of a character that requires promptitude in action.

I am of opinion myself that in many matters of provincial administration a great deal more elasticity in control over provincial Governments should be established, and I believe this can be effected with greater success by the Secretary of State in Council re-assuming the powers granted him by the Act of 1858, and deciding afresh what matters can properly be left to the discretion of provincial Governments, those that can with greater convenience and efficiency be delegated by him to the Government of India, and those which he will reserve in his own hands. I believe that it is by pursuing a course in this direction that provincial governments can best be given that amount of freedom of action which it is desirable in the interests of their provinces that they should enjoy. In the above suggestion I am assuming that a select Committee of both Houses of Parliament, containing a strong element with experience of Indian affairs, is appointed on lines recommended in Section 295 of the Report and that certain changes are made in the India Office and in the constitution of the India Council.

Trade and Industry.

I believe, for instance, that the Secretary of State in Council would prove a more effective confirming authority than the Government of India in regard to matters pertaining to the development of trade and industry in India, which should become one of the most prominent features in Indian progress of the immediate future. Living and moving, as he does, in the financial centre of the world, he can easily place himself in communication with those concerned in finance and trade who will be in a position to afford him expert advice. Thus India would have everything to gain and nothing to lose through the abolition of the indirect method.

If the provinces are given a substantial increase of freedom of action, as I sincerely trust will be the case, the Provincial Governor of the future will have placed upon his shoulders many new and delicate duties. It is said by some that under the Reform Scheme the position of a Governor will become intolerable, and it will be difficult to secure any one to undertake the work. I cannot bring myself to believe that this will be the case. Men will have to be chosen of considerable experience, possessing tact and high quality in public affairs. The history of the British Empire presents a glowing record of public men who have left these shores and have filled with distinction and credit positions where they have had to discharge tasks no less onerous or difficult than those that will confront a Governor of an Indian province in the future. I have

little fear myself that, when the time comes, men will be found, as hitherto, to meet the occasion.

THE SPECTATOR ON INDIAN REFORMS.

[The following two letters were addressed to the Spectator, one by Mr. Lionel Curtis, and the other by Mr. C. Roberts M.P., strongly objecting to the low and denunciatory language used by that paper in its comments on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. We refrain from quoting the comments as they are full of the grossest abuse of Indians and the foulest attacks on all who sympathise with India. That paper, it requires only to be said, has outdone the the Indio-British association in its attack on Indian Reforms, and its knowledge of Indians and Indian affairs appears to be only equalled by the level of its own language.]

Letter of Lionel Curtis

Sir,

The following statement appears in your article on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report: "Now the gossips tell us that the Indian Report was thought and written by Curtis, camouflaged by Montagu, and signed by Chelmsford." When gossip is idle it ought to be stopped, and I must therefore say that I left India in February before the Report was written. I had said everything I had to say in my *Letters to the People of India on Responsible Government*, published in the previous December. This, like many other papers printed at the time, was before the Viceroy and Secretary of State. Both documents are in front of you, and you can judge for yourself how much or how little my arguments influenced their recommendation. But really the point is not worth the while either of yourself or of your readers at a time like this. What matters is simply how far those recommendations are sound or otherwise.

As, however, I am forced to take up my pen to contradict the gossips, I cannot lay it down without recording my protest against certain reference in this article to "*the political section* of the Brahmanical cast in India." I submit to your better judgment, Sir, that "grave, demure, insidious, spring-nailed, velvet-pawed, green-eyed, philosophers of Hindostan" is a string of abuse not to be excused by the fact that it is given as a quotation from Burke. You cannot have realised the insults you are inflicting, nor yet the feelings to which they will give rise, when in the same paragraph you compare

Brahmins to iackals, and the whole psople of India to "a pack of animals outside in the dark waiting to be fed" We have enemies who are labouring constantly to sow hatred between Indians and ourselves. The writer of this article can know but little of modern India, or in using such language he would have hesitated to place a weapon so dangerous in their hands. A few days after the outgoing mails reach Bombay these words will be spreading broadcast throughout the vernacular Press, producing a flame of resentment in the minds of a deeply sensitive people. They will be printed and re-printed months hence, as coming from a paper hitherto recognised as the soberest organ of English opinion, and will cause the gravest embarrassment to those who represent us in India.

The class you are attacking has included men like the late Mr. Gokhale, Sir Sunder Lal, and hosts of others whom Englishmen have valued not only as friends but as loyal and enlightened supporters of the British rule. What excuse can be made for denouncing the whole class to which such men belong without exception or qualification? Your article will do definite mischief, not merely to your own cause, but to the whole position of England in India. I have never yet seen a situation which was helped by wounding people's feelings, still less those of a whole class and a whole people. As Lord Morley once said, "India is a country where bad manners are a crime," and in handling this grave crisis in Indian affairs, writers will do well to realise that all classes there are entitled to the same courtesy as those at home. I cannot picture you applying the language you have used of the Political Brahmanas and the people of India to the Frich Bishops or the people of Ireland. What public end do you think is served by such words?

I hold no brief for the Brahmana caste. But every thinking man who knows India and the Indian Press must hold a brief for the cause of temperance in public discussion. Our first duty in helping India towards responsible Government is to teach that habit. Precept is useless. Our only means are forbearance and example, and for the *Spectator*, of all papers, to open this discussion in a vein like this is nothing short of a public calamity. Every Englishman who has Indian friends will read your article with a feeling of shame. The best we can do now is to treat public discourtesy with the vigorous rebuke it deserves, and as my name is brought into the article, I must register my protest forthwith. But nothing can now mend the mischief it will do...I am, Sir, &c.,

L. CURTIS.

Letter of Charles Roberts, M. P.

Sir,

Your vehement denunciation of the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals for Indian reform impels me to ask space for some reply.

Clearly your attack is levelled not merely against these proposals but also against the Cabinet's declaration of August last. That declaration, anyhow, was not in favour "of two generations at the very least" of the principles of Wellesley and Cornwallis. It did not merely contemplate self-governing institutions "a very long way off." The goal of Indian policy was stated to be "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government." Doubtless progress was to be by stages, but "the Cabinet had decided that substantial steps were to be taken in this direction as soon as possible." That utterance has been quoted and requoted all over India. It came from a Coalition Government representing all parties, and not a ripple of dissent from it has been seen in Parliament during the last eleven months. It is not only a question of the personal recommendation of Mr. Montagu, though no Secretary of State has ever before had such opportunities of forming a judgment. The policy has been countersigned by the Viceroy, supported whole heartedly by the colleagues who accompanied Mr. Montagu to India, and accepted by the Viceroy's Council and by the Council of India. I do not argue that you are personally bound in any way by the Cabinet's declaration, but it has profoundly affected the situation. The doctrine of paternal Government by the Trustee is definitely abandoned. The time has come to take the quondam minor into partnership within a sphere limited at first but admitting of expansion. I would submit that the first step in your alternative policy for India can only be the dismissal from office of the Cabinet as a whole.

You think that the offer of self-government to India is prompted by "timidity" and a "mixed condition of pity and terror." I am surprised at the impression which the Report seems to have made on you in this respect. I can but honestly state the effect on my own mind of visits to Delhi and Lucknow. They left me with a vivid impression of the immensely increased strength of modern Governments for the maintenance of law and order, and for the control of vast tracts of territory. Starting from that consciousness of increased strength, we can, in my view, with far less risk than there might have been in the past, proceed to a devolution of self

governing powers, in the value of which we honestly believe. You warn us against the chance of a swift descent into anarchy. That may happen if a Government is as criminally weak as that of the Tsar. But where does the Montagu Report fail to provide for the due discharge of Imperial responsibilities or for the maintenance of law and order?

On one page you suggest that the Report proposes to "sacrifice the dumb millions of India to a single caste, literally to a minority of a tiny minority." On the next page, in sketching the constitution of your experimental Indian Republic, you feel that "as wide a suffrage as possible" might prove a safeguard against "the dominance of a single caste or clique." The provincial Legislative Councils under the Montagu Chelmsford scheme are to be based on as wide and direct a franchise as possible. They have the safeguards of "reserved" services and the Governor's veto. Why is it certain that they must sacrifice the dumb, but at least partially enfranchised, millions to a tiny fractional minority?

Your alternative experimental Indian Republic ("subject to the guidance of a political officer", as in a Native State) would, I think, prove either a sham or a probable failure. The Republic under a new Lord Cromer would probably have very little of the genuine Republic about it. If the political officer was indeed nothing but a friendly onlooker, then I would submit that the breakdowns in self-governing institutions, whether in old Revolutionary France or in Bolshevik Russia, come from plunging untrained into self-government without providing time for the gradual growth of the unwritten customs, conventions, and understandings on which successful free institutions rest. That is the justification for the policy of progressive stages on which the Cabinet's declaration and the Report are based. If unexpectedly the Republic, in spite of an abrupt start without preliminary training, succeeded, how on your principles could you refuse all India the chance of setting up similar institutions without first learning the practical business of self-government? As far as foresight can go, that would indeed involve a deliberate plunge into Bolshevism.

I cannot refrain from a final remark that scathing invective and contemptuous denunciation break no bones in England, though it seems hardly the best atmosphere in which a great problem should be discussed. But your words will be read in India. You are expecting Indians to accept a doctrine hard enough for them. India can produce apparently men like, let us say, the late Mr. Gokhale,

who, as far as one could judge, was as fitted to work free as the average British Cabinet Minister. Indians have the Japan before their eyes. But after the Cabinet's declaration them to write themselves down as fit only for another fifty the principles of Cornwallis and Wellesley, and as unable "for at the very least two generations" even some appropriate institutions which exist every where throughout Europe and which all Eastern countries are now trying to outdo passion in discussion breeds passion in return. Is it in the of the Empire to provoke an answering storm of vehemence of a position which is insulting to themselves? For saying that those who have admired the *Spectator's* gravitas in the past are puzzled to account for a strange lapse from and dispassionate self.—I am, Sir, &c.,

Charles I

THE WESTMINSTER GAZETTE ON INDIAN REFORMS.

[H. H. The Aga Khan's book "*India in Transit*" came out early last year 1917 sets forth His Highness's Indian Reforms. It enjoyed for some time an immense popularity and perhaps simplified Mr. Montagu's task by preparing the minds of English men for the acceptance of some Reforms which were growingly becoming inevitable and imperative. In this work that the following comment of the Gazette is based on.

The importance of the Aga Khan's book is not chiefly in the scheme of reform which it advocates, but in the belief that it is generally on sound lines, but still more account that it gives of the situation in India. It has hit one of the principal arguments of the opponents of reform, that if we yielded to the "agitators" we should be conceding to a small and unrepresentative class at the cost of alienating the more powerful landowners, aristocracy, and ruling Princes who were the main support of British rule in India. We are putting in power a handful of lawyers, journalists, and Babus, who have no hold over the masses of the peasants, and who cannot be tolerated for a moment by the real Indian aristocracy if their protection were removed. There has for many years been a serious reason for questioning this hypothesis, and, if we believe the Aga Khan, it has lost all validity in these times.

picture that he paints for us is that all landowners, gentry, and ruling Princes, as well as politicians and Congressmen, are becoming united in a demand for some kind of responsible government. A right estimate of this movement, which is one of the principal features of Indian life since the war began, is so important that we will quote at some length what the Aga Khan has to say about it.

Increasingly, of late years, some of the best-known Princes have been cherishing the ideal of a Constitutional and Parliamentary basis for their administrations. There can be no doubt that a liberal policy in British India will soon be followed in many of the States by widening applications of the principal of co-operation between the rulers and the ruled. It is most gratifying to Indian patriots to note the sympathy which the Princes and Nobles have shown with the aspirations of the people of British India towards selfgovernment. After all, these rulers, unlike the small dynasties of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Italy, are children of the soil, and have a natural sympathy and fellow feeling with their countrymen.

There could be no better or more convincing presentation of these aspirations of India, in brief compass, than that given by the Maharaja of Bikanir, in his historic pronouncement at the luncheon of the Empire Parliamentary Association to the Indian delegates to the Imperial War Conference, at the House of Commons, on April 24th 1917. Those of us who personally know the ruling princes of to-day—so active, hard-working, patriotic, and devoted to the welfare of their people usually ; so free from all “side,” and, in a word, so different from the legendary Maharaja of the imaginative writers of the past—have no reason to doubt that this eloquent plea voiced not only the views of the educated people of India but also those of the average Ruling chiefs. In fact His Highness of Bikanir spoke on similar lines to his brother Princes when they entertained him to a dinner in Bombay on the eve of his departure for the Imperial War Conference. It may also be noted that the Maharaja of Alwar’s speech was full of democratic enthusiasm which have made a considerable impression in India within the last two or three years.

We can hardly emphasise too strongly the importance of this passage. The Aga Khan does not exaggerate when he describes the Maharaja of Bikanir’s speeches as historic. They were a warning to the official world that the old India could no longer be relied upon to back the opposition to the new ; and before many months had elapsed it became evident that the Maharaja

had spoken not for himself alone but for a large number of the ruling Princes and leading men both in the Protected States and in India proper. From this moment it became clear that the Indian movement was on a much broader base than its opponents had supposed, and that it had in it the genuine elements of a rational demand.

For the next step forward the Aga Khan's watchword is decentralisation. He would have India regrouped into large Presidencies, to the Governorships of which he would make the Indian Princes eligible, give them elective assemblies with a variety of franchise qualification but follow the German rather than the British model by making the Governor and the executive independent of the Assembly, except that the latter might remove an unsuitable head of a Department by a three-fourths majority. For each Province he would have a Senate or Second Chamber, partly nominated and partly appointed by important bodies or interests. He would have the functions of the Imperial and Provincial Governments carefully delimited, leaving to the Central Government everything that could be called all-Indian. In fact, his constitution would be a Federal one. The Viceroy would have his Cabinet, and beside a Senate nominated by the Provinces and the Protected States, again on the model of the German Bundesrath.

The Aga Khan would give large scope to Indians in legislation, but take large guarantees against rash radicalism. He would make the executives independent of the elective assemblies and leave the Viceroy and his Cabinet in firm control of army and navy, foreign policy, fiscal affairs, and everything that concerned all-India, with the nominated Senate as his legislative organ. He would like the Viceroy to be a member of the Royal Family, and he would keep him bound to and even extend the reference of policy to Whitehall, though there would necessarily be some modifications in the method.

There are two aspects of the Indian question which need constantly to be borne in mind in these times. One is the internal and domestic problem of India; the other is the immense importance of India in Imperial and foreign policy. Upon the first of these aspects the Aga Khan has one very subtle and interesting remark to make. He quotes the dictum of the late Lord Cromer that a Government like that of Britain in India, i.e. a Government without popular sanction "could not maintain itself

except by light taxation," and he points out that this though true sets a limit to development. "Bureaucratic Government, even when well intentioned and paternal, is conscious of some lack of moral right to call for those sacrifices from the people that will raise their conditions in the cultural and sociological field *pari passu* with or in advance of the economic.' Elementary education, for example, is a crying need of India but the Government as at present constituted dare not face the taxation that would be necessary to make it general or universal. And so with a dozen other departments in which a liberal expenditure would be for the advantage of the country. The bureaucratic Government may pride itself on the lightness of its taxation and yet by that very fact convict itself as necessarily and inevitably unprogressive.

On the other aspect of the question, the foreign and Imperial, the Aga Khan writes with knowledge and good sense. The chapter entitled "Germany's Asiatic Ambitions" shows him to be thoroughly acquainted with the motives of European policy and though as a Mohammedan he has natural regrets at the course of events which estranged us from the Turks, he sees our point of view and concedes that in all the circumstances we were obliged to act as we did. But he insists that at the end of the war the right and perhaps the only counter to German Asiatic designs will be a loyal and contented India visibly typifying the free principles of the British Empire against German absolutism. The importance of India in Central Asiatic policy is too often forgotten and the Aga Khan does well to remind us of it. We believe with him that a loyal and contented India is the key to the position, and that if we rise to the occasion and are prepared with a generous and imaginative policy we shall reap our reward. The danger is not in going forward but in delays and evasions which may lead the Indian people to suppose that we attach no serious meaning to our promises and give the agitators ground or pretext for extreme course.

THE AGA KHAN'S SCHEME.

[The following is a bare outline of the Scheme of Reforms proposed by H. H. The Aga Khan in his book "India in Transition"]

The scheme of Reforms proposed is based on a Federal idea embracing the Native Principalities as well as the Provinces.

As India is too vast and diversified for a successful unilateral form of free Government, the Provinces should be autonomous in which official executive responsibility would be vested in a Governor as directly representing the Sovereign. The most striking pro-

posal is that the Governorships should now be open to Indians, confining the choice for some years hence to Ruling Princes, Bikanir for instance, who would leave their own territory for five years for this greater field. Officially, as Governors, they should be free from their states for their tenure of office. Later on other Indians would qualify for the Governorships. The Aga Khan recommends the adoption of the American principle of freedom of the executive from legislative control so far as tenure of office is concerned.

Provincial legislatures should be greatly enlarged; Bombay, for example, having 180 to 220 members in order to have a representative of every district, community and substantial interest. There should be a Senate or Upper House and the power of both Houses over the legislature and finance should be subject only to the veto of the Governor, and the Legislature might possess the right of removing by a three-fourths majority an unsuitable or incompetent Departmental head. Another striking proposal, but by no means new, is that the Viceroy should be a member of the Royal family of England, the son or brother of the King-Emperor, as this will secure a reality in the loyalty of the people through a personal allegiance to the Ruling family to which the oriental mind is specially susceptible. There will be a Prime Minister presiding over a Cabinet, choosing his colleagues under the Viceroy's guidance as he thought best.

After due establishment of a federal constitution, and once internal federation was complete, it would sooner or later attract Persia, Afghanistan and all principalities from Africa and similar countries into a freewill membership of a great South Asiatic federation of which Delhi would be the centre.

The need for building up a national army and a real Indian navy is emphasised after a survey of foreign relations as affected by Germany's Asiatic ambitions and the Pan-Turanian movement. The Aga Khan insists that a certain way of securing progressive civilisation, order, method and discipline to India lies in the creation of trusted local authorities natural to the soil and placing side by side with them, the best British and Indian officials available, to carry out measures from universal education to military service and political enfranchisement which have been instrumental in the evolution of all great nations.

There must necessarily be a final break with a Government deriving its authority wholly from outside and the commencement must be made from the lowest to the highest of the full co-operation of the people. These are means by which India will become a renewed, self-relying and sincerely loyal partner in a united Empire.

India in the Australian Senate.

[**Senator Reid** delivered the following speech in the Australian Senate in which a strong case was made out for granting Home Rule to India. The "**Yellow peril**" which haunts the White men of America and of the Far East was perhaps in the mind of some Senators who spoke of Japan and her designs in the Pacific.

As a safeguard Mr. Reid and others with him put forth the plea of knitting together the parts of the British Empire in still closer bonds by giving equal status to all, including India. In this connection his argument "Free India and she will give millions to fight and die for you", will be read with interest in India, for it is precisely this plea which was put forth by Sír Subramaniam, the President of the Home rule League, India, in his letter to President Wilson.]

Several speakers have referred in warning tones to the Eastern menace, and some honourable senators spoke of Japan in anything but respectful language. Even one honorable senator on this side of the chamber said that the bazaars of the East were filled with whispers about this large, desirable and unpopulated country of Australia, and he warned us that if something were not done to increase our population the consequence might be serious. I have never been one of those who feared the Asiatic bogey. Australia has every reason to be proud of and gratified with the honourable way in which Japan has during this War kept her compact with the Mother Country. If Japan had broken her treaty with Great Britain as the Germans broke the treaty regarding the neutrality of Belgium, Australia would have heen at her mercy. I think we ought to recognise Japan's strict observance of her treaty obligations. I take the view that the safety of Australia lies in its being an integral part of the Empire.

Empire's Mission to the people of the East.

I regard the Empire as having a mission, not only to the people of Australia, but also to the people of the East, and from my point of view by becoming a live part in the Empire and doing our best in this War, we shall be assuring our own safety and future against Japan or any other menace that may arise in the East. If Britain in her wisdom will recognise the grievances of India, there will be no danger to Australia in future, because India is a part of the Empire that cannot do without. Despite all the mistakes

that have been made, British rule has been for India's benefit. There are 317,000,000 Indian subjects of the British Empire and at the present time their leaders are asking in very earnest tones for Self-Government.

Self-Government to India.

As the Empire is desirous of establishing Self-Government in all small countries I trust that those who meet at the Imperial Conference table will see that India receives her share of self-Government and the right to work out her own salvation as part of the Empire. If that privilege is granted to her and she enters into the councils of the Empire, there will be no menace to Australia from the East because India is strong enough to dominate Asia. Of course, some will say that Australia does not wish to be holden to be a coloured race for its independence but India is as much an integral part of the Empire as is Australia, and if the Empire is to grow we must, as Britishers, have regard to the future solidarity of the Empire, because it stands for peace, progress, liberty, and Self-Government among its own people in a way that no other nation or race has done. We stand before the world as an example of those who have been able to settle Colonies and create Self-Governments. The Commonwealth is one of the examples to the world. In this chamber, we have heard a great deal about the liberty of Australians, and so forth. Where did we get it? We have inherited it from those who built the Old Country. It is not particularly a part of the soil of Australia; it is in the blood of the British race. It was brought here by those who came here. Our Constitution is the result of what Britain has built up in the past, and we can keep it only because we belong to the race and to the British Empire.

India will Supply Millions.

We are all anxious to see the War brought to an end. We do not know when it is going to end; but if the Secretary for India in the Home Government would see his way to granting India Self-Government, there would be no need for the Empire to fear Germany, or any Allies which it might get in Europe; because India could supply millions of men if they were required. No conscription would be necessary; the men would be supplied willingly so long as India was recognised as an integral part of the Empire. This is a thought that has been in my mind all through the War, though I have never mentioned it before in this chamber.

I am a strong conscriptionist. I hold that in a democratic country like this, where we all have an equal voice in the making of laws and equal liberties, all would be able and willing to fight for liberties to the last man and to the last shilling. But that policy is not being carried out, though the Empire is in very straitened circumstances owing to the submarine menace and the lack of man power. As Britain is producing all the munitions for the Empire, she may require outside help. Notwithstanding the part that America may play, I feel that the British Empire with all its might and strength is the one Power that will work for the future settlement of disputes and the maintenance of peace. But it can only be done by welding all parts of the Empire. Let India be brought in as an equal with the rest of us. From the point of view of winning the war in which all our liberties are at stake, if India could come to the rescue, it could supply millions of men, some of them the best soldiers we could ever have. It must not be forgotten that the vast majority of the inhabitants of India belong to the Aryan race, as we do. Thousands of them have skins just as white as ours. We are merely a branch of the old Aryan family that went to Europe thousands of years ago.

House of Lords will have to give Home Rule to India.

Senator Manghan.—Does the honorable senator think that the British House of Lords will give Home Rule to India?

Senator Reid.—They will have to give it; and if it came along now the people of India would rally to the Empire and its Allies, and help to smash Germany for all time. If there is any way of getting Mr. Hughes to the Imperial Council, I trust that he will recognise that India is an indispensable part of the Empire. This Senate has passed resolutions that other countries should have Self-Government and Home Rule. It would probably be wise for us to resolve that India as a part of the Empire should be given self-government to work out her own salvation. When the war is over, the British Empire will have a strong part to play in maintaining peace, in bringing about liberty and progress and in establishing Governments where they should be established, allowing each race to work out its own salvation. The British Empire is the only Power that can do this, and for that reason, we should do our best to weld it together for the sake of the future peace of the world.

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THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" ON THE
HOME RULE MOVEMENT IN INDIA.

The **Home Rule** movement in India is a branch from the main stream of emancipatory feeling that is running throughout the old world. In little over a year it has become more powerful than any other movement that has been seen in India. It has made a clean sweep of educated India. It is hard to find an Indian youth of the educated classes that is not on fire with the hope it inspires. Already it has its branches in every province in India, and Home Rule reading-rooms and bookshops in all the larger towns. All the leading cities have several daily papers full of its propaganda; Madras has three or four, and new papers seem to rise every day. It has captured the Congress at a single blow, brushed aside the Moderates, and elected its leader, Mrs. Besant, president. It has captured newspapers owned by Moderates and dismissed directors unwilling to allow its propaganda in their columns.

The Moderates, men who have been the leaders of Indian reform for a generation, are as much at a loss in the face of this new movement as the Government. It is not only much stronger than any former movement. It is different in character. Reform has hitherto been an intellectual movement in India. Home Rule is for the most part emotional. The older movement rested on the strength of its case. The Home Rule movement rests on the strength of its following. The older movement was led by men like Gokhale, Mehta, Nairoji. The new is led by Tilak and Mrs. Besant. Congress was a purely deliberative body; the Home Rule league is purely propagandist. Its methods are Western. In each town a room or a shop is hired and a supply of Home Rule literature in the vernacular is kept. In the Chandni Chowk at Delhi, where all the races of India—Jats, Punjabis, Sikhs, Pathans, Bengalis—jostle one another in the crowded bazar, it is startling to come on a sign 'Home Rule Reading room and Bookshop.' The sign is bold and the letters are hard and staring. The fact, too, is hard and staring. The local committee, mostly young men of the educated classes, meet every Sunday to arrange meetings in the neighbouring villages during the week, which they address in turn. Propaganda of this kind, familiar enough in England, has been unknown in India hitherto. The League has plenty of funds, it has many wealthy patrons and the young men give their time and labour to the cause without stint.

Anglo-Indians speak of educated Indians as a "microscopic minority," but their intellectual output is immense. Every day brings forth a new pamphlet. Several different series have already appeared—the Home Rule series, the New India series, the Servants of India series, and others. For the most part they are well and temperately written, and make very effective use of the various declarations of our statesmen in favour of self-government. The manifesto that was presented to Mr. Montagu by the Home Rule League quoted Mr. Lloyd George: "The leading principle is that the wishes of inhabitants must be the supreme consideration in the settlement; in other words, the formula adopted by the Allies with regard to the disputed territories in Europe is to be applied equally in the tropical countries." President Wilson's speeches and addresses are reprinted. Every speech made in England, every declaration of our aims, every volume of Hansard, every book of politics, is watched and searched by the army of Home Rule workers for propaganda. Nothing escapes them, and being full of enthusiasm, their industry knows no limits. For the first time in her history Indian's millions are beginning to get a political education.

Repression would do more.

At the same time there is no idea of breaking the British connection. One hears little or nothing in India of an "Indian Republic." Separation is out of the question. Indians regard the two countries as thrown together by Providence like man and wife, for better or for worse. An Indian reformer grows very angry if you suggest to him that too brisk a propaganda might end in more Home Rule than Indians would like. India does not brood over past wrongs as Ireland does. The splendour of British ideals in India as laid down in the Proclamation of 1858 appeals strongly to the imagination of young India. As to the future, the young Indian's optimism has a note of confidence that is startling. "We do not ask the British to grant us Home Rule," said one of the League officials to the writer. "We ask God to grant it; we ask Him to hear our prayer if it be His will." "For myself, I am by no means sure," he added, "that five years of repression would not do more for us than Mr. Montagu's substantial measure of reform."

It is claimed by the League and denied by its opponents that the movement is a genuine Nationalist movement of the nineteenth-century type. The point of the claim is that if it is a genuine Nationalist movement it is a big thing and must command respect.

But there are few points of resemblance between this movement of an intelligentsia agitating for a place within their ruler's domain and the Nationalist uprisings of last century in Europe. Their ideals are Nationalist, and they speak a common tongue—English—but there the resemblance ends. The Indian movement belongs to an era of Nationalism. It seeks liberty, but liberty within the group. It is a demand not for the overthrow of a conqueror but for admission to his household.

Sources of Inspiration.

To understand what is happening in India it is necessary to try to realise the atmosphere in which young India lives and the reverberations thereof caused our declarations about freedom in Europe. From one point of view years of experience in India are a hindrance to such an understanding. It is not India that is our problem at the moment, but the heart and mind of young Indians whom we have educated. The youngmen see India freshly as a new-comer sees it, and to a new-comer the fact that stands out in India, like Kinchenjunga at dawn, as definite as the Taj in the moonlight, is that in his own country the Indian is a subject and inferior people. Nothing that one has read about India prepares one for the solidity of that fact. To the European in India this startling discovery has become commonplace, one of the ideas associated with India, like the Indian sun. Even to Indians of the older generation it has become commonplace, too, and that has cost the Moderate his leadership. But the young men feel it most acutely ever new.

In India daily intercourse between the races is not governed by the policy of the Government of India Act of 1833, or the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. There is no attempt in everyday life to give practical expression to the declaration of equality among the subjects of his Majesty. Wherever Europeans and Indians meet, whether in the street, or the train, or the steamboat, the relation between them is the simple one of ruler and ruled. Intercourse between the races is carried on always with this in mind. The prestige of the ruling race must be maintained. It is astonishing with what skill and address this immense structure is maintained, particularly by young men of good family. One is almost moved to regret the various democratic upheavals that have deprived these young Olympians of the opportunity to exercise their great talents at home. Even Indian Nationalists like and admire them. But Europeans in India are not all men of the highest breeding, and

the doctrine of the prestige of the Raj in less exalted quarters is allowed a more natural expression and evokes a more natural response.

How long ere thou take station ? How long ere thralls live free ?

Such is the motto of the League printed on the cover of all its pamphlets. Political equality is merely a means to an end. The end is social equality, the abolition of all that would suggest that the Indian is not as good as the European. "How long ere the thralls live free?" is the true inspiration of the Home Rule League. And it is that call which has brought to the banner of Home Rule a most heterogeneous collection. Politicians that in the West would be divided into a hundred warring sects—landlords and single-taxers, zamindars and agrarian agitators, capitalists and strike organisers, Protectionists and Freetraders—all are gathered into the fold. A busy Collector, with no other place to put him, keeps a big zemindar waiting under a tree for a couple of hours among a crowd of his social inferiors. Straightway a Home Rule recruit is made. A Bombay mill-owner taking a holiday in a remote province, meets an official on horseback. To quote the millowner, "He looked at me keenly as I passed. Then he stopped his horse. 'Stop' he said, and I stopped. 'Haven't you the common courtesy to salute' he said. 'Why should I salute?' I asked. 'Do you not know who I am?' he said. 'I do not,' I replied. 'I am the Commissioner of the District,' he replied. 'No doubt,' I said, 'but if you were the Lieutenant Governor I am not bound to salute you. The viceroy himself would not expect it.' 'Who are you?' he said. 'Where do you come from?' 'Are you going to settle in this district?' 'That is not my intention,' I replied, with a smile. And he rode on frowning." On his way home the same millowner was violently abused at the railway station for opening the door of a lady's compartment to let his wife in. Result, another wealthy patron for the League.

It must not be supposed that all this is mere wanton rudeness on the part of Anglo-Indians. It is not. These things arise inevitably out of the position of the white community, like small islands in an ocean of humanity. But they provide the chief motive for the Nationalist movement and put steam into its propaganda. It is these facts which have made Indians sink their differences and unite to attain a common end. Politically the Home Rule movement is a

State within a State. It stretches from the extreme left of Tilak and Srinivasa Sastri to the rajas and landowners on the extreme right. All classes come into its net—landlords who think the permanent settlement a stroke of genius, land reformers who would make an end of it to-morrow. Hindu revivalists, Mahomedan revivalists, all are one in the desire to walk erect in their own streets like other people. "If the Japanese and the Chinese and the Peruvians and the Brazilians and the Nicaraguans can manage their own affairs, surely we can also."

India in Revolution.

[The following article from the pen of Mr. Bernard Houghton, appeared in the "Positivist Review" of.....1918. Mr. Houghton's clear unclouded perception of Indian problems and his courageous and far-reaching advice to his countrymen as to the handling of the present day India entitles him to a position amongst the Statesmen who are now sitting in Paris. See also his article in India, p.....]

It is seldom that the great political questions which agitate foreign lands are presented to English readers with impartiality. The correspondents of the Press agencies are usually influenced by the traditions and interests of the classes in which they move; nor are the agencies themselves by any means free from bias. The news supplied from India is a case in point. It presents events entirely as seen through European eyes. Every event, even of trivial importance, that can militate against the grant of the Indian demands, is promptly telegraphed, whilst the great and orderly meetings, the overwhelming evidence of national movement and awakening, are passed by in silence. Hence it is that the British public remains in profound ignorance of the real conditions in India. It does not even "see through a glass darkly"; what little it sees is so distorted as to be a mere travesty of the truth. The real facts of the case are that India is stirred to its depths by the ideal of self-government; the whole empire is electrified by the spirit of nationalism, with its hope of increased self-respect, of a real national life, of progress on the basis of an ancient civilisation, hallowed to Indians by untold centuries. It is a revolution, albeit an orderly revolution. With the exception of the revolution in China, we are witnessing what is, at least numerically, the greatest movement in the history of mankind. So swift is the progress of the new ideas in

India that measures which might suffice in one year will in the next be almost outside the range of practical politics. That is a fact of which it behoves our statesmen to take note. The phenomenon is not confined to India. The startling rapidity of the revolution in China, the diffusion like a lightning flash of Bolshevist idea in Siberia, are within the recollection of all. It is to this cause that is due the failure of the Morley-Minto constitution. Issued with the announcement that it must suffice India for a generation, it would save for the truce at first called by the war, have been barely adequate for a lustrum. True, it was administered by the Simla Government in so unsympathetic a spirit that the Councils have come to be regarded as "a cynical flash and calculated sham." But essentially it was a measure which could offer but the briefest of pauses in the struggle between the peoples of India and their Government. It failed in that it made no provision for the already strong desire for self-determination. With this object lesson in view, few who know the present-day conditions in India will think that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report goes too far. The peril is rather that the reforms, already belated, may not satisfy even temporarily existing aspirations. Unless they find acceptance now, it is unlikely that they will endure for long or that the gathering clouds of ill-will and discontent will be dissipated in the sunshine of a healthy national life.

The Reform Report.

In many respects the Report will have the assent of all progressive minds. The peremptory order to free local boards from official trammels, the at least partial abolition of communal representation, the elected Councils, both Provincial and Imperial, the increased Indian element in the Executive, and the reform of the Council of India here all mark a notable advance and evince true statesmanship. So too does the division in the Provincial Governments of subjects into reserved and transferred, a scheme which probably offers the best solution of the problem of how to pass from a bureaucratic to a truly popular form of government.

But the proposal that the Indian minister in charge of the transferred heads should be irremovable by the Assembly will never do. Suppose, as will quite probably happen, that the minister is at variance with the Assembly on some vital question of policy. The Assembly will not vote on his proposals, they will cease to have confidence in him, yet they will be unable to remove him from office.

The result will remove him from office. The result will be a deadlock inside the Assembly and violent agitation without. Unless, too, the minister represents the majority in the Assembly there is no real education in self-government. Surely the better way is to have the minister, as in our own Constitution, responsible to the Assembly, and his terms of office contingent on its confidence.

The chief defect in the Report concerns the Government of India. That Government is regarded by Indians, and with reason, as the entrenched citadel of officialdom, the incarnation of all that is bad in the bureaucratic regime. Yet the proposals leave it practically unformed. Though the official block disappears from the Imperial Assembly, a Council of State is created which answers the same purpose. The Assembly becomes in fine a mere Advisory Council. Is that a step towards self-government or political responsibility? Is it an un-reformed central government likely to administer the new constitution with sympathy? Surely not. The mere addition of an Indian member to the Executive Council will not remedy matters. What is required is the division of the portfolios into reserved and transferred, the latter being in charge of a minister responsible to the Assembly, exactly as I have suggested in the Provinces. Such an amendment would go far towards liberalising the Simla bureaucracy; it should strike the imagination of India, whilst providing a real half-way house on the road to popular government. As matters stand the covert sneer in the Report—surely not from the pen of Mr. Montagu—"Hanoz Dihli dur ast," (Delhi is yet far off) has only too much justification. From the comparative seclusion of Simla and Delhi bureaucracy still smiles, serene and unabashed, on the gathering hostility of a united India. In a recent speech Mr. Montagu affirmed that the reason why the reforms were so limited was the division by religion, race, and caste of Indian society. As the harshness of this division tends to disappear further steps forward will be possible. But if so, why is Burma, which is free from such division not included in the scheme of reform? The Burmese, who are strongly patriotic, are just as well suited as the rest of India for a democratic polity, except in one particular—they have not conducted a menacing agitation to that end. The conclusion is obvious.

In proportion as a people becomes patriotic and has scope for national development in the form of free institutions, the acerbities due to class and religious cleavage tend to disappear. Man has only room for one great object of devotion. Make patriotism that

object—indeed patriotism in its truest and best sense is closely akin to Positivism—and the estrangements due to religion, race or class fade away. All classes tend to become not mutual foes but brothers, their hatreds and repugnances dissolved in the love of their common fatherland. We have seen the process at work in the United States, in Canada and in South Africa. Signs of it are already visible in India, witness the historic pact of Lucknow in December, 1916, between Hindus and Mohammadans. The freer the scope now given for national aspirations, the quicker will be the progress of this beneficent force.

The other great countries of Asia—Japan, China and Siberia—have each had their Revolution whereby they exchanged absolutism and stagnatism for democratic ideals. It is now the turn of India. We may hope that, unlike the happiness in those countries, the Revolution in India will move by peaceful stages. But peace or violence, bloodshed or orderly development, hang on whether the British Government and public realise the momentum of the forces that confront them, and, in sympathy with these forces, give adequate scope for their development.

SIR RABINDRA NATH TAGORE IN THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

The Meeting of the East and the West.

For over a century and a half India has borne a foreign rule which is western. Whether she has been benefited by it, whether her arts and industries have made progress, her wealth increased and her opportunities of self-government multiplied, are a matter of controversy which is of very little material interest to the present generation of our countrymen, as it cannot change facts. Even from the point of view of historical curiosity it has a very imperfect value, for we are not allowed to remember all facts except in strict privacy. So I am not going to enter into any discussion which is sure to lead to an unsatisfactory conclusion or consequences.

But one thing about which there has been no attempt at concealment or difference of opinion is that the East and the West have remained far apart even after these years of relationship. When two different peoples have to deal with each other and yet without forming any true bond of union, it is sure to become a burden, whatever benefit may accrue from it. And when we say that we suffer from the dead weight of mutual alienation we do not mean any adverse criticism of the motive or the system of government, for the problem is vast and it affects all mankind. It inspires in our minds awe verging upon despair when we come to think that all the world has been bared open to a civilisation which has not the spiritual power in it to unite, but which can only exploit and destroy and domineer and can make even its benefits an imposition from outside while claiming its price in loyalty of heart.

Therefore it must be admitted that this civilisation, while it abounds in the riches of mind, lacks in a great measure the one truth which is of the highest importance to all humanity; the truth which man even in the dimmest dawn of his history felt, however vaguely it might be. This is why, when things go against them, the peoples brought up in the spirit of modern culture furiously seek for some change in organisation and system, as if the human world were a mere intellectual game of chess where winning and losing depended upon the placing of pawns. They forget that for a man winning a game may be the greatest of his losses.

Men began their career of history with a faith in a Personal Being in relation to whom they had their unity among themselves. This was no mere belief in ghosts but in the deeper reality of their oneness which is the basis of their moral ideals. This was the one great comprehension of truth which gave life and light to all the best creative energies of man, making us feel the touch of the infinite in our personality.

Naturally the consciousness of unity had its beginning in the limited area of race—the race which was the seed-plot of all human ideals. And therefore, at first, men had their conception of God as a tribal God which restricted their moral obligation within the bounds of their own people.

The first Aryan immigrants came to India with their tribal gods and special ceremonials and their conflict with the original inhabitants of India seemed to have no prospect of termination. In the midst of this struggle the conception of a universal soul, the spiritual bond of unity in all creatures, took its birth in the better minds of the time. This heralded a change of heart and along with it a true basis of reconciliation.

During the Mahomedan conquest of India, behind the political turmoil our inner struggle was spiritual. Like Asoka of the Buddhist age Akbar also had his vision of spiritual unity. A succession of great men of those centuries, both Hindu saints and Mahomedan sufis, was engaged in building a kingdom of souls over which ruled the one God who was the God of Mahomedans, as well as of Hindus.

In India this striving after spiritual realisation still shows activity. And I feel sure that the most important event of modern India has been the birth and life-work of Rammohan Roy, for it is a matter of the greatest urgency that the East and the West should meet and unite in hearts. Through Rammohan Roy was given the first true response of India when the West knocked at her door. He found the basis of our union in our own spiritual inheritance, in faith in the reality of the oneness of man in Brahma.

Other men of intellectual eminence we have seen in our days who have borrowed their lessons from the West. This schooling makes us intensely conscious of the separateness of our people giving rise to a patriotism fiercely exclusive and contemptuous. This has been the effect of the teaching of the west everywhere in the world. It has roused up a universal spirit of suspicious antipathy. It incites

each people to strain all resources for taking advantages of others by force or by cunning. This cult of organised pride and self-seeking, this deliberate falsification of moral perspective in our view of humanity, has also invaded with a new force men's minds in India. If it does contain any truth along with its falsehood we must borrow it from others to mend our defect in mental balance. But, at the same time, I feel sure India is bid to give expression to the truth belonging to her own inner life.

Today the western people have come in contact with all races of the world when their moral adjustment has not yet been made true for this tremendous experience. The reality of which they are most fervidly conscious is the reality of the Nation. It has served them upto a certain point, just as some amount of boisterous selfishness, pugnacious and inconsiderate, may serve us in our boyhood, but makes mischief when carried into our adult life of larger social responsibilities. But the time has come at last when the western people are beginning to feel nearer home what the cult of the nation has been to humanity, they who have reaped all its benefits, with a great deal of its cost thrown upon the shoulders of others.

It is natural that they should realise humanity when it is nearest themselves. It increases their sensibility to a very high pitch within a narrow range, keeping their conscience inactive where it is apt to be uncomfortable.

But when we forget truth for our own convenience, truth does not forget us. Up to a certain limit, she tolerates neglect, but she is sure to put in her appearance, to exact her dues with full arrears, on an occasion which we grumble at as inappropriate and at a provocation which seems trivial. This makes us feel the keen sense of the injustice of providence, as does the rich man of questionable history, whose time-honoured wealth has attained the decency of respectability, if he is suddenly threatened with an exposure.

We have observed that when the West is visited by a sudden calamity, she cannot understand why it should happen at all in God's world. The question has never occurred to her, with any degree of intensity, why people in other parts of the world should suffer. But she has to know that humanity is a truth which nobody can mutilate and yet escape its hurt himself. Modern civilisation has to be judged not by its balance-sheet of imports and exports, luxuries of rich men, lengths of dreadnaughts, breadth of dependencies, and tightness of grasping diplomacy. In this judgment of

history, we from the East are the principal witnesses, who must speak the truth without flinching, however difficult it may be for us and unpleasant for others. Our voice is not the voice of authority, with the power of arms behind it, but the voice of suffering which can only count upon the power of truth to make itself heard.

There was a time when Europe had started on her search for the soul. In spite of all digressions she was certain that man must find his true wealth by becoming true. She knew that the value of his wealth was not merely subjective, but its eternal truth was in a love ever active in man's world. Then came a time when science revealed the greatness of the material universe and violently diverted Europeans attention to gaining things in place of inner perfection. Science has its own great meaning for man. It proves to him that he can bring his reason to co-operate with nature's laws, making them serve the higher ends of humanity; that he can transcend the biological world of natural selection and create his own world of moral purposes by the help of nature's own laws. It is Europe's mission to discover that Nature does not stand in the way of our self-realisation, but we must deal with her with truth in order to invest our idealism with reality and make it permanent.

This higher end of science is attained where its help has been requisitioned for the general alleviation of our wants and sufferings, where its gifts are for all men. But it fearfully fails where it supplies means for personal gains and attainment of selfish power. For its temptations are so stupendously great that our moral strength is not only overcome but fights against its own force under the cover of such high-sounding names as patriotism and nationality. This has made the relationship of human races inhuman, burdening it with repression and restriction where it faces the weak, and brandishing it with vengeance and competition of ferocity where it meets the strong. It has made war and preparation for war the normal condition of all nations, and has polluted diplomacy, the carrier of the political pestilence, with cruelty and dishonourable deception.

Yet those who have trust in human nature cannot but feel certain that the West will come out triumphant and the fruit of the centuries of her endeavour will not be trampled under foot in the mad scrimmage for things which are not of the spirit of man. Feeling the perplexity of the present day entanglements she is groping for a better system and a wiser diplomatic arrangements. But she will have to recognise, perhaps at the end of her series of death lessons, that it is an intellectual Pharisaism to have faith only in

building pyramids of systems, that she must realise truth in order to be saved, that continually gathering fuel to feed her desire will only lead to world-wide incendiarism. One day she will wake up to set a limit to her greed and turbulent pride and find in compensation that she has ever-lasting life.

Europe is great. She has been dowered by her destiny with a location and climate and race combination producing a history rich with strength, beauty and tradition of freedom. Nature in her soil challenged man to put forth all his forces never overwhelming his mind into a passivity of fatalism. It imparted in the character of her children the energy and daring which never acknowledge limits to their claims and also at the same time an intellectual sanity, a restraint in imagination, a sense of proportion in their creative works, and sense of reality in all their aspirations. They explored the secrets of existence, measured and mastered them ; they discovered the principle of unity in nature not through the help of meditation or abstract logic, but by boldly crossing barriers of diversity and peeping behind the screen. They surprised themselves into nature's great storehouse of powers and there they had their fill of temptation.

Europe is fully conscious of her greatness, and that itself is the reason why she does not know where her greatness may fail her. There have been periods of history when great races of men forgot their own souls in the pride and enjoyment of their power and possessions. They were not even aware of this lapse because things and institutions assumed such magnificence that all their attention was drawn outside their true selves. Just as nature in her aspect of bewildering vastness may have the effect of humiliating man, so also man's own accumulation may produce the self-abasement, which is spiritual apathy, by stimulating all his energy towards his wealth and not his welfare. Through this present war has come the warning to Europe that her things have been getting better of her truth, and in order to be saved she must find her soul and her God and fulfil her purpose by carrying her ideals into all continents of the earth and not sacrifice them to her greed of money and dominion.

THE "TEXTILE MERCURY" ON INDIAN TRADE.

The following is an extract from the Textile Mercury of Manchester which strongly exposes the inequity of the British Commercial and Industrial policy towards India.

Cotton Cultivation and Manufacture.

India not only is, but was, growing cotton, spinning and manufacturing, centuries before cotton was seen in this country. . . . Indian muslin used to be one of the finest fabrics woven long years before a single bale of cotton had been grown in America. Indeed almost before we began to use American cotton in this country, so serious did we consider the competition of Indian muslins with Lancashire products that in 1790 they were prohibited from being imported into this country. Cotton was first grown in America in 1786. If therefore the staple of Indian cotton has deteriorated, it is an open question as to how far the United Kingdom has contributed to this very unfortunate result by preventing the importation of her finest products. It is certain that this action of Great Britain if not absolutely the cause was largely contributory to this disastrous result, disastrous alike to Indian cotton growing, spinning and manufacturing, and to Lancashire by depriving her for long years of an alternative supply of suitable cotton.

With such a large number of its people depending upon cotton growing and manufacturing, India has for long years been desirous of regulating the importation of foreign power-woven fabrics, in the interests of its hand-loom and power-loom workers. . . .

The British Government compels India against her will to open her markets freely to foreign manufacture in accordance with the policy adopted in this country in 1861. The great self-governing dominions will have none of it. Canada, Australia, South Africa are free and unfettered in this respect. India is bound by our insular folly. But worse has to be recorded. When the Indian Government proposed an all round import duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for revenue purposes, she was compelled, at the instance of Lancashire, to impose an excise duty to the same amount upon all Indian manufactures of the same classes. No other British exporting industry has asked for or received such special treatment. This policy is enforced upon India, not for her good, but admittedly and solely in the interests of Lancashire. It will readily be understood that this excise duty is far from popular in India. It does seem curious for Lancashire to boast of her world supremacy, and yet to stand in

such fear of a possible $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent advantage in goods made from coarse counts. We are told by Lancashire's spokesmen that Lancashire does not want coarse goods business and is quite content to let the foreigner make them, as she concentrates on fine goods. The position is not logical. If we are quite willing that the foreigner should make his own coarse counts, why prevent India from doing the same?

Some Trade Relations with India and the United States.

Exports of Cotton Manufactures (excluding yarn) from the United Kingdom Annual average, 1909-12

To the United States	£3,095,000
To India	£27,476,000

India therefore, buys annually from us nine times as much as America.

Incidence of Trade Between the United Kingdom, India, and the United States. (Board of Trade Memorandum).

Imports from India, £57 millions, average duty levied on same by U. K. £5,300,000

Imports from U. S. A. £123 millions, average duty levied on same by U. K. £850,000

Exports to India, £58 millions, average duty levied by India. 2 percent Exports to

U. S. A. 839 millions, average duty levied by U. S. A. 73 per cent-

The disproportion between the amount of duty levied by Great Britain upon India and American produce is very striking, as is the discrepancy in the duties levied by them on British produce. And yet in the face of this glaring inequality of treatment, apart altogether from the relative deserts of the two countries, when in 1903 the greatest Colonial Minister the Empire ever had, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, proposed that some of the tax of 5d per lb on Indian tea should be transferred to American wheat or flour, English gentlemen denounced the proposal as a tax on food. Was it in ignorance? Was it due to arly prejudice? Or was it—? It was.

JUSTICE TO INDIA.

Prior to 1858 India was under the administration of a commercial company. In 1858 the British Government took over the

ON INDIAN TRADE



reins from the East India Company, and since then India has been an integral part of the Empire. There was then, and there is now, a general desire on the part of the people of these islands that her Government should be absolutely impartial, to her own good and as far as may be in consonance with her own wishes and ideals. Can any man say in face of the recorded facts that this is the case in matters industrial and commercial? One of the most glorious pages in the history of the British Empire is that which records how on the outbreak of war in 1914 the millions of our fellow subjects in India sprang to the side of Britain. Equal justice to India! Nay, more than equal justice, large-hearted generosity is her due. How better can this oneness in ideal be resented and perpetuated than by finding men to guide and means to provide for the restoration to its old high standard of her cotton industry. And even as we should thus be greatly benefitting the millions of our Indian fellow subjects most of whom are always living very near to the border line of poverty and famine, we should also be greatly helping ourselves by rising their financial status, at one and the same time be providing a supply of raw material for Lancashire spindles from the cotton fields of India.

India's Population Poorest in the World.

We now turn to another branch of the cotton industry. The manufactured product from the raw material: its distribution. Of the total annual product of the industry we have seen that five-eighths is exported. The amount exported annually on the average of the five years 1909-13, yarn and manufactures taken together, was £112 millions. To India alone we exported out of the total £29 millions. In the case of raw cotton we have seen that the law of the even distribution of load is seriously infringed by depending upon one single country, the United States of America, for three-fourths of our supply. The same thing is repeated in the case of the disposal of the manufactured product from the raw material. We depend upon one country, India taking more than one fourth of the total exports. It is true that she has a large population; it is also true that it is the poorest population in the world. The policy hitherto adopted of putting a brake on the internal industrial development of India is disastrous, in that it consists of the senseless performance described in ancient adage as 'killing the goose that lays the golden eggs.' It is certain that in the not very distant future America will absorb all the cotton she grows.

Agricultural Suicide in England.

Before leaving this branch of the subject it may be as well to point out that the operation of Nature's laws and forces is not confined to the cotton industry. 'The Reign of Law' is all embracing. We will cite a few other industries in order 'to point a moral or adorn a tale.' Agriculture is the greatest of all our national industries, and not only intrinsically but extrinsically, of great importance to the country at large. Food is the first necessity of the people. A prosperous agricultural industry is conducive to the commonweal, in that while on the one hand it supplies food, on the other it is a purchaser of the goods from the manufacturing districts. A depressed agriculture is, on the converse, a dead weight on the manufacturing interests. The relative importance of agriculture is clearly shown by the following comparison of production and persons engaged.

Census of Production (1907)

	Production,	No. of persons employed.
Agriculture	£210,000,000	988,210
Cotton	176,000,000	572,869
Coal Mining	123,000,000	840,240
Iron and Steel	105,000,000	262,225

In 1861, 1,803,049 persons were engaged in agriculture, so that in 40 years the number of persons employed in it had fallen to one-half. Over a million acres had gone out of cultivation and agricultural land values, i.e. rents, had decreased by millions sterling. And we are living in a fool's paradise, depending upon America for one fourth of the imported food of the people.

'Dynamics is the science that deals with force and inertia. Cotton Dynamics is the same with a difference; it deals with forces and inertia.' With these words we commenced our investigation. You can not see the forces of nature, you see the effects of operation of forces and the laws which control them. So in the cotton industry the effects of the forces are what we see. What then have we seen?

India Dumping Ground of the World.

The principal cause of the decreasing trade with foreign countries is due to the establishment by them of cotton industries of their own. For the better development of these British goods are excluded by means of heavy duties. The lowest average on cotton

goods is in the case of Italy 37 per cent and highest average is Russia with 203 per cent duty. The highest specific duty is levied by the S. A. viz., 375 per cent on sewing cotton. These foreign countries which began by excluding British goods, so as to enable their home markets to be supplied by their own manufactures, finally produced a surplus, for which they had to find a market. By our action in 1861 of abolishing the duties upon all manufactured goods, we provided for the surplus the only great open market of the world. It was then to the British Empire that the surplus manufactures of all the foreign countries came duty free.

In face of the fact that foreign countries were raising what were tantamount to prohibitive duties against our manufactures, we deliberately threw away the only weapon for self-defence which we possessed—the power to bargain. Those foreign countries had us at their mercy, and from then till now they have mercilessly punished our manufactures, while building up their own, till they have become formidable opponents not only in all the foreign markets, where they have trading advantages over us, but also in the United Kingdom where by fair means or foul they are undermining and destroying one British industry after another, compelling us at the same time, helplessly, to buy from their own trade essentials, at their own prices.

The exports of textile machinery to foreign countries has increased *pari passu* with the decrease in the exports of cotton goods. Japan is an Ally; she excludes British cotton goods by import duties and that notwithstanding, is allowed free entry to all British Empire markets, except those of the self-governing Dominions. The English language has the largest and richest vocabulary in the world, and yet it can not supply words strong enough to suitably describe the ineffable folly of one-eyed politicians, with that solitary option fixed upon the ballot box."

INDIA IN JAPAN.

Marquis Okuma on India.

[In "the Journal of the Indo-Japanese Association" of January last Marquis Okuma contributes an article on "The Post-Bellum Mission of Japan" in which he obligingly refers among other matters to India which is indeed very interesting.]

First of all, let us be liberal and large-minded enough to appreciate and sympathise with China. Her people belong to the same race as we, and use the same written language as ours, and it ought to be no difficult question for us to enter into more intimate national and economical relations with them than at present. In addition to this, let us endeavour to establish closer intimacy with the Southern Pacific Islands, and what is vastly more important, with India. The nations of the East can not generally be regarded as highly advanced, and it is the duty of Japan to guide and assist them in their onward progress. She can thus make a valuable contribution to the peace of the world and to the advancement of civilisation.

Let me speak of India a little more. Several months ago, Mr. R. D. Tata, a member of the famous Tata House of Bombay, visited this country. He complained that it is to be much regretted that the Japanese do not pay due respect to the Indian people; although the latter welcome the former as friends, some of the former, imitating the example set before them by Englishman, are apt to treat the Indian people with contempt, and that under such circumstances it would not be possible for the Indians to be on terms of intimacy with the Japanese, however much the former may desire it, the result being that the feelings of Indians towards Japanese are generally undergoing a change for the worse.

Such is the cry of disappointment of the Indian people. Their trust in us and their sympathy with us seem to be undergoing a test, and if this state of things continues much longer, friendship between the two peoples will suffer, perhaps irrevocably. This is, indeed, a very serious question with us, and so long as our people do not acknowledge their own fault and determine to be wiser, they can never be expected to achieve any considerable economical or political success in foreign countries, for to be a great people, we must entirely do away with egotism and race prejudice, and while we endeavour to develop ourselves, we must show respect for and sympathy with other peoples, and assist them in their efforts to progress.

If intimate national and economical relations can be established between all the countries of the East, and their co-operation secured, then the peace of the Orient will be a great contribution towards securing the peace of the world and the happiness of mankind. Such has been, and will be, my ideal.

If China can be developed and advanced by the efforts of Japan, not only the East, but also the whole world will be benefitted.

ON TAPAN AND INDIA

Considering Japan's geographical position and her historical and racial relations with China, it is evident that she is better fitted than any other nation for the accomplishment of this noble task. Again, if Japan can become more intimate with the Southern Pacific Islands and with India, this in itself will be instrumental in bringing us to a better understanding with England and other powers. The East and the West can thus be united in a much closer tie of friendship, which will be a great step towards securing the peace of the world.

Situated outside the sphere of Western civilisation, Japan has yet been able to make wonderful progress by adopting and digesting, by means of a special aptitude, western science and civilization. On this account the Japanese are often criticised as unsurpassed in imitative traits but lacking in creative genius. It is not necessary for us to enter into a discussion of this criticism which, however, our people should always bear in mind and endeavour to be more earnest in political, economical, social and other matters. Unless we do so, we can never have a civilisation of which we can boast that it is our very own.

Perhaps the only means of securing the lasting peace of the world is to be found in the thorough understanding between, and the eager co-operation of, the Japanese, Slavs, Germans, French, English and people of the United States. Whether this can be realised as the outcome of the present war still remains to be seen. Meanwhile, it will be well for us Japanese to be more liberal and magnanimous to appreciate the urgent need of the united efforts of the different races for the establishment of peace, and to attempt to come to a more complete understanding of, and greater sympathy with the economical and political situations, as well as thoughts and ideals of other peoples, so that our beloved Nation as the Peace-Maker of the East may discharge its duty to perfection.

INDIA IN SOUTH AFRICA.

A mass meeting of the Indian Community was held in January last in the Muhammanadan Madrassa Hall, Durban, for the purpose of considering the advisability of placing their grievances and demands before the proper authorities and also to elect delegates for the forthcoming South African Conference.

Mr. A. D. Padia presided and Mr. J. M. Francis acted as the Secretary.

The Chairman in the course of his speech, said :—We have now assembled here for the purpose of considering what steps to take in regard to matters connected with the great National Movement taking place both in South Africa and India.

After referring to the Allied victories in the War, he said :

At a time when the phase of the civilised world is going to be evolutionised, as a sequel to this great war, we South African Indians, want to know, where do we come in the adjustment of the new state? We have patiently waited all these years with the hope that the Union Government will spontaneously right our wrongs and inaugurate the proverbial British System of Administration, based and acted upon equality and justice, but unhappily, as yet we find no signs of its forthcoming from any responsible quarter, we have no other choice in the matter than to submit our present condition to the British people with a view to enable them to judge it in the new light of things.

It is a matter of great pleasure for me to state here that our countrymen from all parts of South America are going to assemble in Cape Town next week for the purpose of deciding an uniform course of action for promoting the cause of the South African Indians. This is the first time that a United South African Indian Conference is going to be held, and I believe, I am echoing the opinion of all assembled here when I say, that we wish every success to the Conference, and we ardently hope and pray that good will come out of the Conference.

The following resolutions were unanimously passed :

"This mass meeting of the Indians of Natal respectfully ventures to urge the claim of British Indian Subjects for the extension of Franchise rights and this meeting prays that the Union Government will be pleased to introduce the necessary legislation in the Union Government.

In view of the fact that since the absorption of the four Self-governing Colonies into the Union, British Indian Subjects have derived very little benefit therefrom, this mass meeting, in order to render the Union a meaningful expression, requests the Union Government to remove the inter-state restrictions placed upon the free movement of Indians throughout the Union."

South African Indian Conference.

The following are among the resolutions passed at the Conference held in January last—

"In view of the fact that since the inauguration of the Union, British Indian subjects here derived very little benefit therefrom, and as the word 'Union' has been rendered a meaningless expression by the perpetuation of a parochial policy, this conference of Indians, representing the Cape, Transvaal and Natal, resolves to ask the Union to amend the laws that operate oppressively against British Indians, including the Act that prohibits the free movement of Indians throughout the Union."

"That this Conference of the Indian community, representing Natal, Cape and the Transvaal, respectfully ventures to draw the attention of the Union Government to the advisability of repealing the laws governing the indentured Indian immigration into Natal, as the Government of this Union and India have abolished the indenture system, and seeing that the existence of the Indian Immigration Trust Board is inimical to the interests of the Indian labouring class, this conference respectfully prays that the Government will be pleased to take into their immediate consideration the request contained herein."

It was decided that a deputation be appointed to wait on the Minister of the Interior and to submit the resolutions passed at the Conference for his consideration.

"Having regard to the fact that since the formation of the South African Union, British Indian subjects have derived no benefit therefrom and as the laws founded on account of colour still disfigure the statute books of the Union, inflicting considerable hardship, annoyances and injustice to British Indian subjects, this Conference of the Indian community in Natal, Cape and the Transvaal respectfully ventures to ask the Imperial Government and other Allied Powers not to concede the conquered territories in German West Africa to the Union Government until the latter Government repeals all the obnoxious laws enacted on racial and religious grounds, and restore to them the rights of which they were deprived and to which they are entitled, being equal tax-payers to the State. This Conference authorises the Chairman to cable the foregoing resolution to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

"The Conference resolves to send at least two Indian delegates from each Province of the Union to attend the special session of the Indian National Congress to be held in London, in order to support the claim of their motherland for autonomy, and that this Conference authorises the delegates to place the cause of the S. A. Indians before all constituted authorities and others who are capable of wielding authority over the Union Government, with a view to securing equal rights for all civilised peoples in South Africa."

"This Conference resolves to establish a committee consisting of 36 members, each of the Provinces contributing 12 members, for the purpose of devising ways and means of bringing about a unification of the Indians in the Union, and authorises this committee to submit a constitution for consideration to the next South African Conference."

"The Conference strongly protests against the action of the local authorities of the Cape Province in refusing to grant licences to Indians solely on account of nationality, and urging on the Provincial Council the necessity to amend the Ordinance so as to allow an appeal to the Supreme Court."

In pursuance of the resolution passed by the South African Indian Conference a deputation consisting of all the delegates from Natal, the Transvaal, and the Cape, headed by the president Sheik Ismail, waited on Sir Thomas Watt, Minister of the Interior, by the end of January.

Mr. M. Alexander in introducing the deputation referred to the fact that that was the first Conference of Indians held in South Africa.

Mr. P. S. Aiyar, on behalf of the deputation, read a statement giving an exhaustive resume of the positions of Indians in the Union, and suggested remedies that would meet the requirements of Indians domiciled in that country.

Mr. M. C. Anglia stated the grievances of Indians in Natal while Mr. P. K. Naidoo, on behalf of the Transvaal delegates, ventilated their grievances; and Dr. Gool spoke for the Cape Indians.

The Minister after a patient hearing expressed himself sympathetically and the deputation withdrew after thanking the minister.

SIR J. D. REES ON INDIA.

[The following appeared in the "Reynold's News of November last over the signature of Sir J. D. Rees, M.P.]

The so-called Montagu proposals are not Mr. Montagu's proposals. He is a part, and, being who and what he is, necessarily a large part, of them, but they are the joint proposals of himself and of Lord Chelmsford. It was Lord Chelmsford, who, succeeding Lord Hardinge as Viceroy, found conditions in India such, that as a practical and moderate man of statesmanlike views and attitude, such as he has always proved himself hitherto to be, he considered an advance in the direction of self-government an urgent necessity, such as could not wait till after the War. Indeed, he found the pressure of War, and the conduct of Indian princes and peoples during its progress, such as to precipitate the necessity for giving at once an instalment of a Constitution, the eventual grant of which has been inevitable ever since we ourselves decided to educate India in Western ideas of Government. We created in fact an intelligentsia, resembling in many respects that which next after German intrigue contributed in no inconsiderable, if not in the chief degree, to the ruin of a Russia, in which there was no place and no occupation for a generation brought up on a diet of modern democracy.

German gold and German intrigue indeed stimulated this body in India also into sedition, if not into revolt, and Lord Chelmsford made such representations to the then Secretary of State, Mr. Chamberlain, that he arranged to go out to India to inquire and confer with the Viceroy. His unexpected resignation and Mr. Montagu's appointment to succeed him, transferred this duty to the latter statesman, whom I have known throughout his Parliamentary career as a man of very great ability, with a high sense of public duty.

His proposals for the better government of India have been strongly attacked at a recent meeting of the new Indo-British Association, but if the House of Commons is any reflex of public opinion, and if the Councils of the Secretary of State and of the Viceroy, composed of the most distinguished Indian authorities of the day, are judges of Indian questions, the view of the new Association are not likely to prevail. If the question were, what form of Government is best for India, there would be a great deal

to say for their attitude, and it is by no means certain that the proposed changes will lead to better government.

But the question is what steps are to be taken and when to carry out a pledge given last August in Parliament to the effect that the policy of the Government shall be the gradual development of self-governing institutions in view to the ultimate realisation of responsible Government in India.

The policy may of course be mistaken. But there is no mistake possible as to its acceptance in the democratic House, and as to the necessity for giving effect to those, or to somewhat similar reforms.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that if these proposals are not accepted and acted upon without any avoidable delay justifiable disappointment will result, and further difficulty experienced in governing India. The best proof of their moderate character is that extremists in both directions, and particularly the Indian extremists, will have none of them, while they appear to satisfy moderate men at home and in India.

Everything must now await the result of the General Election, but all the news from India, and the results of such inquiries as had been held since Mr. Montagu's return, confirm the position taken by him and Lord Chelmsford, and proves that India by its articulate section will accept what is offered by way of reform, but wants it without delay.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD ON INDIAN CONGRESS.

(Labour Leader—Sept., 1918).

The Indian National Congress seems to have split for good upon the Montagu Report, but so unreliable are newspapers and press cables that we must reserve final opinion until the Indian mails arrive some weeks hence. Meanwhile certain obvious facts may be pointed out and accepted.

Before the Montagu Report came to drive a wedge through Congress, the wedge was there. The old leaders never accepted Mrs. Besant, Mr. Tilak and the new Home Rule movement.

The men who had grown up in the earlier stages of India's demand for a liberal political policy found that their success came in the form, not of a political triumph against the Government, but of a new movement in the Indian opinion, far bolder in its expressions and demands and much more fundamental in its conception of political liberties.

This new movement brought new leaders ; it was more moving than the old in its appeal and brought new adherents. Mrs. Besant emerging from Adyar and the more confined fields of theosophy, slipped to the front and joined hands with Mr. Tilak. In many quarters she was not acceptable, but in the more advanced sections she was, and her contributions by voice and pen, enormously aided by the stupid persecution of the Government, have given her a status and the Home Rule movement an impetus which they would not otherwise have had.

The new adherents also made the movement for the first time "popular." The old Congress did lack a popular mass. It had the support of the educated and the middle class. It was just open to the suspicion that it was a movement of landowner's, capitalists, and lawyers, and some of its resolutions on political subjects and its neglect of certain popular interests gave colour to that suspicion. Now, village life has been influenced and political tides have made their motions felt at greater depths in Indian existence than ever before. India has gone far and fast during the last four years.

That being so, another change was inevitable.

Hitherto India has had to appear to be unanimous. The Congress was an Indian movement against a non-Indian bureaucracy, and this had to remain so until the fate of the bureaucracy was settled, and the general claims of India admitted. Then it was no longer a United India demanding the recognition of Indian rights that was required, but the rights being recognised, an India of various schools of opinion and outlook, working out India's destinies by conflict, debate, and rival methods. Congress has divided because a united Congress has done its work. My old Congress friends, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Surendranath Banerjee and the others must see in this their own success even if they are sad that events have taken this form.

Mrs. Besant, with her British political experience, will not miss the significance of what has happened and ought to be able to give

the new movement wise guidance. What we are seeing is the natural evolution of a right and a left wing in Indian politics, consequential upon the freeing of the Indian political mind to discuss Indian political policy on its own merits and not merely as against the political policy of the bureaucracy.

So far from regretting the division, I believe it is natural, and I should welcome the definite formation of two wings—provided the right keeps decidedly Indian and does not allow the left to force it into an unnatural alliance with the bureaucracy, and of this I see no signs. I have the fullest trust in the Moderate leaders. They have still a great contribution to make to Indian political liberty. Their attitude to the Montagu Report is intelligent, consistent, and wise, and they will have enormous influence in modifying it in the right direction and in reaping from it a rich harvest.

SIR SUBRAMANIA IYER.

But the left is also essential. India now requires robust independent thought and action. When Sir Subramanya Iyer flung back his knighthood at the feet of the Government in consequence of the attack made upon him by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons, he did a fine thing. It is that spirit which is to awake India from a subordinate and cringing attitude and spirit, and India sadly needs such an awakening.

The life of India is to depend upon the two sides honestly and fearlessly setting forth their own views independently of each other, but with a sense of responsibility and tolerance. The days of meaningless compromise declarations, patchworks of the opinions of both sides and acceptable in reality to neither, have passed. India must know what its sections reply, think and choose between them. Perhaps our own Labour movement is going through a somewhat similar evolution.

On the actual points of immediate division little can be said with profit, till we have full reports of the Special Congress in front of us. The comments cabled here are pettifogging. There is agreement that the Montagu Report must be taken as a basis, must be criticised and amended. That a time limit should be placed upon the transition stage between the bureaucracy and self,

government I consider to be of very minor importance. Indian public opinion will settle that if it be worth its salt.

That kind of guarantee is always elusive. That there should be an agreement on the details of self-government I believe to be of the greatest importance, and of equal importance is a determination to eliminate from the Scheme all committees and councils and powers which, set up nominally for the transition period, will acquire such authority during it that they will become blocks in the end to the realisation of a proper system of self-government.

I should therefore concentrate opinion on the abolition of the Secretary of State's Council in London, the appointment of two Under-secretaries, one of whom should be an Indian, and an arrangement of councils and executives which should take political control out of the hands of civil servants and put it in those of the elected legislatures. That done, we may trust that the system will evolve itself, and the creation of a real public opinion in India will take care that the evolution is not unnecessarily delayed.

SIR. S. P. SINHA AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE.

Speaking at a conference of the Overseas Press Deputation in Oct. 1918, on the situation in India and the bearing of the proposed changes of the constitution upon it, Sir S. P. Sinha (now Lord) said :—

It had been always understood that the ultimate goal to the system of government in India should be responsible government. It was small wonder that Indians who had been educated on English literature should aspire to the introduction to the East of the principles of democracy which had developed in the West. There was no reason to believe that those principles would not work equally as well in other countries as they had among Western nations. All systems of government were progressive and he admitted that India must pass through many stages before she was as well educated in the application of democratic principles as England was. Speaking as an Indian, he would say that the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was valuable not so much because of the measure of immediate performance which it gave, as of the promise of greater performance which it contained. If the scheme was carried out in its main principles, with possibly some of its too cautious checks and counter-checks eliminated, he thought it would give satisfaction to the great bulk of the people of India. Judging from newspaper reports and from communications he had received from India within the last few weeks, he thought he was justified in saying that the more the people of India studied the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme the more

they were coming round to the opinion that it was a measure worthy of their acceptance.

The Economic Situation.

Referring to the economic conditions of India Sir S. P. Sinha said that he noticed the other day that Sir James Meston had been reported as having said that India was in a great state of prosperity. He had reason for believing that Sir James Meston had been misunderstood. It was not a constitution alone that was wanted for India, but contentment and prosperity. However efficient the system of Government might be in India, it would be generally admitted that India was a very poor country, and unless the whole policy of *laissez faire* was changed, was likely to remain so. India had not been prosperous for a long time past and was not prosperous now. *India had been the hewer of wood and the drawer of water for the rest of the Empire.* She desired and demanded a place in the Empire worthy of her glorious past, of her present resource, and of the part she had been privileged to bear in this war. With a peaceful people, fertile soil, and unlimited reserves in men and material, there was no reason why India should not be as prosperous as any other part of the Empire. They looked to the rest of the Empire, and particularly to England, to find the remedy. The industrial development of India was the most essential need of the present moment.

Without an increase of prosperity it was useless to expect India to be content and loyal to its connection with the Empire. It was no wonder that the educated classes of India were continually asking what was wrong with the Government, because after all, it was the function of the Government and not of the people to see that there was prosperity in the land. Literally millions in India were on the border of starvation. Half the population never had a full meal in the day, and means must be found to remedy this state of things. It was essentially necessary to take steps with regard to the constitution as a means of bringing about contentment and prosperity. What was wanted was democratic government, and there was no reason why it should not work equally as well in India as in any other country. The object of the war was that every people should have the same chance and right of self-development.



INDIA IN THE IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE

IMMIGRATION PROBLEMS.

The following papers regarding reciprocity in matters of immigration between India and the Dominions are published for the information of those interested in the subject :—

Extract from a letter from the Colonial Office to the India Office
From Colonial Office to India Office, No. 35892.

Downing Street, 7th Aug. 1918.

Sir,—I am directed by Mr. Secretary Long to transmit to you, to be laid before Mr. Secretary Montagu, copies of an extract from the Fifteenth Day's Proceedings at the Imperial Conference, together with copies of the memorandum prepared by Sir S. P. Sinha.

I am &c.,

HENRY LAMBERT.

To

The Under Secretary of State of India.

ANNEX. I:—Memorandum by Sir S. P. Sinha.

The views and recommendations of the Indian representatives on the position of Indians in the Self-Governing Dominions were placed before the War Conference last year in the form of a memorandum which appears as an annexure to the printed report of the Conference. The subject was discussed on Friday the 27th April 1917, and the "Conference unanimously accepted the principle of reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions, and recommended the memorandum to the favourable consideration of the Governments concerned." It is mainly with a view to eliciting information as to whether any action has been actually taken, and, if not, how soon it is likely to be taken by the Government concerned to give effect to our suggestions that a few of the outstanding questions are mentioned in the present note.

2. The Indian grievances dealt with in the last memorandum fall conveniently under the following three groups :—

(1) Treatment of Indians who are already settled and resident in the Self-Governing Dominions.

(2) The difficulties and disadvantages of Indians intending to visit the Dominions not with the object of settlement but for purpose of travel, education, or business.

(3) The question of future immigration to the Dominions.

3. As regards the difficulties of resident Indians, the disability imposed on the Sikh settlers in Canada, numbering about 4,000 men, of not being allowed to bring their wives and minor children to live with them, is a very real and serious hardship, and, as was pointed out in last year's notice, has caused acute dissatisfaction amongst perhaps the most prominent martial race in India and those who flocked with the greatest alacrity to the Indian Army for the defence of the Empire. This unfair and unnatural prohibition is the more galling because the Indians resident in South Africa have, since the passing of the Indians Relief Act of 1914, the privilege of introducing into the Colony one wife as well as her minor children. The Japanese have the right of taking not only their wives, but also their domestic servants. No further time should be lost in removing the prohibition which appears to be in force in Australia also.

4. Of the Indians settled in the Self-Governing Dominions, by far the largest number is domiciled in South Africa. Cape Colony has an Indian population of 6,606, Transvaal of 10,048, Orange Free State of 106, and Natal of 133,031 souls. The Indians Relief Act of 1914 has removed many disabilities, but from reliable materials placed before us it appears that there are still many substantial grievances and disabilities which are not merely of an administrative character, as General Smuts seemed to be under the impression last year, but are based upon already existing or impending statutory enactments.

The following would appear to be some of the principal grievances of South African Indians :—

(1) *Trading Licences.*—It is necessary to obtain a license in order to be able to carry on any trade or business in South Africa. Each Province has its own trading licence legislation, and the tendency recently has been in every Province to transfer the control of licence from the Government to municipalities. Although there is a system of appeals from the decisions of the municipalities, *e. g.*, in Natal to Town Councils or to Licensing Appeal Boards, the right of appeal to the Courts is extremely limited. Thus, in Natal, against refusals of application for new licences there is a right of appeal in matters of procedure, but not of facts, to the Provincial Division of the Supreme Court, whereas, in cases of refusal to renew licences there is a right of appeal on facts also. It is generally contended that the municipalities arbitrarily refuse to grant licences to Indians with the improper and indirect object of destroying Indian trade, and the Indian newspapers are full of such instances. The trading-rights of Indians in South Africa are a

vital issue: If the Indian community remains at the mercy of their European rivals in respect of the right of their members to earn an honest livelihood by trade it is only a question of time for the whole community to become impoverished and be reduced to industrial helotry. The remedy seems to be to give the fullest right of appeal in all cases of refusal of licences to the Provincial Division of the Supreme Court—on questions of fact as well as of procedure.

(2) *Parliamentary and Municipal Franchise.*—As observed in last year's note, there are stronger and more obvious grounds for extending the municipal franchise to the Indians resident in South Africa than the Parliamentary franchise. It might be pointed out, however, that we are nearer to the introduction of representative institutions in India this year than we were last year, and therefore the argument for depriving the African Indians of the franchise on the ground of their coming from a country where representative institutions do not exist will carry still less weight now, and there is a strong case for granting the franchise, at least to the richer Indian merchants. Their claim to the extension of the municipal franchise in all the States seems to be much stronger as this right is enjoyed in Natal and Cape Colony, where some Indians are reported to be discharging municipal functions to their credit. The special necessity for the grant of the municipal franchise will appear from what has already been stated with regard to trade licences.

(3) *The Ownership of Land.*—Unlike their compatriots in Natal and at the Cape, Transvaal Indians, under the old Republican Law 3 of 1885, remain under the disability that they are denied the right to own fixed property, i. e., from having the legal ownership registered in their own names. The system of indirect ownership, in other words, nominal European ownership originally suggested by the Republican Government themselves, prevailed until quite recently, and is still occasionally adopted. The process is round about, cumbersome and expensive, but the facts are notorious, and the circumstances are legally recognised by the Courts.

Since about the year 1914, the practice has grown up of forming and registering, under the Transvaal Companies Act, 1909, small private companies with limited liability, whose members are all Indians (frequently an Indian and his wife), and possessing an independent legal *personal* for the purpose, amongst other things, of acquiring fixed property. All these transactions have recently received judicial recognition. It is said that attempts are now being made by interested parties to deprive Indians of this right of indirect ownership of fixed property. Recently a question was put on the subject in Parliament, and the Government spokesman replied that it was intended to examine into the question, when the new companies law was under consideration. Advantage has frequently been taken by Indians of these indirect, but quite legal, methods to open business in townships whose private regulations prohibit the sale of stands to Indians, which, in themselves, are intended indirectly to compel Indians to reside and trade in special locations, which, again, would mean financial ruin to most of them, and against which attempt the Indian community has fought since long before the Boer War.

On the contrary, the prohibition against Indian ownership of fixed or landed property should be repealed by Parliament, on the grounds that it tends to foster insincerity on all sides, to deprive Indians of some of the

elementary rights and responsibilities of citizenship, which are not denied even to the aboriginal natives and other non-Asiatic coloured peoples of the Province, and which are possessed by their compatriots in the coast Provinces, and especially in Natal, where the bulk of the Indian population of the Union is to be found. Transvaal Indians ought not to be compelled to regard themselves as possessing an inferior status, in this respect, to their compatriots resident in the coast Provinces, and such a statute as Law 8 of 1885 is an anachronism and opposed to the spirit of modern legislation.

(4) *Railway Regulations.*—In the Transvaal, for a number of years past the policy of racial segregation has been enforced on the railways. Special legislation to that end was sought in 1910, but was strenuously opposed by the Indian community, with the result that certain regulations were eventually agreed to, embodied in the papers published in Blue Book Cd. 5363 of 1910 (pages 102-5 and 114), at a time when the Indian community was in a relatively weak position, having its energies fully engaged in the passive resistance struggle which was then at its height, and which left the community powerless effectively to resist further encroachments upon its liberties. But the arrangements therein referred to were of purely local application, and were not intended in any way to affect the position or diminish the rights of Indians in the other Provinces. Recently, however, regulations applicable throughout the Union have been published, some of which have already been withdrawn in deference to strong Indian opposition, while others remain, in spite of that opposition, not only embodying provisions contained in the old Transvaal arrangement, but going much farther, and extending to other Provinces of the Union a racial discrimination not hitherto known there. The Indian community, for a long period of years, has consistently fought against statutory discrimination based upon racial distinction. Segregation in travelling would only be tolerable if designed by statute, where exactly equal opportunities and facilities were provided for the different races affected. This is impossible for financial reasons and no such remedy is available. Apart from this, the situation in the Transvaal and in South Africa generally is very different from what it was in 1910, and less than ever are Indians disposed to depart from the principle of equality under the law, which they regard as fundamental in the British Constitution, and for which they have suffered enormously in the past, and are prepared to suffer for again. Not only ought the position of Indians elsewhere in the union not be reduced to the level of that in the Transvaal, but the latter should be raised to the highest level anywhere in the Union.

The settlement of these and other outstanding difficulties should receive the earnest attention of the Provincial Governments and the Union Government. It should not be forgotten that the bulk of the Indian settlement in South Africa is the result of the action of the South Africans themselves, and Natal, where the majority are domiciled, owes much of its prosperity to Indian labour. "The whole of Durban was absolutely built up by the Indian population," said Sir Leige Hewlett, ex-Prime Minister of Natal in 1903. In his farewell speech at Pretoria in November 1912, Mr. Ghokhale appealed to the European community in the

following words : " You have all the power, and yours, therefore, is the responsibility for the manner in which the affairs of this land are administered. You owe it to your good name, you owe it to your civilisation, you owe it to the Empire of which you are a part and whose flag stands for opportunities, for progress, for all who live under its protection, that your administration should be such that you can justify it in the eyes of the civilised world." This noble exhortation points to an angle of vision which is much nearer reality to-day than it was in Mr. Gokhale's time, and after the promise of " peaceful and statesmanlike" solution made by General Smuts last year there should really be no difficulty now. In order to enable the Union Government to deal with Indian problems impartially and promptly, the provision of convenient agency by which Indian grievances can be brought to the notice of the Local Government authorities would be a first step. The appointment of a local agent of the Indian Government at Pretoria should be an advantage both to the Indians in South Africa and the South African Government which has to deal with them.

5. For the group of questions relating to facilities for travel, education, or business, it is clear that it should be easy to arrive at a liberal and satisfactory solution almost immediately.

The present position is that the Dominion laws allow persons with good credentials to enter on temporary visits, in Canada as " tourists ", and elsewhere by special permits, which presumably are granted in the Dominion concerned. For instance, Australian Circular No. 31 of August 1904 lays down " that any persons, *bona fide* merchants, students, and tourist travellers, provided they are in possession of passports, may be admitted. On arrival in the Commonwealth the education test in their cases will not be imposed, and such persons are to be permitted to land without restriction, but, in the event of their wishing to stay longer than twelve months, an application for a certificate of exemption should be made before the expiry of the term stating reasons for extended stay."

In the case of *bona fide* students intending to study at any of the Australian Universities, the above requirement of special certificate of exemption appears to be quite unnecessary. The question of the Indian student problem in Australasia has assumed special importance, because at the present moment most of the Western world is practically almost shut out from Indian students, and will be for some time after the War, on account of the great rise in the cost of living and other causes. Australian Universities

are out of the War zone and comparatively cheap, and the Indian student is poor, and the West Australian University is only about nine-and-a-half days from Colombo.

6. Finally, as regards the question of future emigration of Indians to the Colonies for purposes of settlement, there is no change from the position which was taken up last year, that in this matter the Indian British subjects have a right to expect that they should not receive a less favourable treatment than other Asiatic people who are not subjects of the British Empire. But this question is not of any immediate urgency for India, and might well wait future discussion.

On our side we are being pressed to give practical effects to the resolution of last year's Conference.

7. It is only necessary in conclusion, to emphasise the necessity of definite action and a forward advance in these matters without any more delay. "I do not lose a due sense of proportion", says the Aga Khan in his recent book, "India in Transition," "when I say that one of the deeper causes, if not of discontent or disaffection, at any rate of the distrust of England and Englishmen that appeared on the surface in India of recent years, was the strained relationship between Indians and their white fellow-subjects in East Africa. A rankling sense of injustice was aroused by the reservation of the best lands for Europeans, and by a succession of ordinances and regulations based on an assumption of race inferiority. It must be remembered that such a state of injured feeling evokes a sub-conscious spirit, which in a few decades, may lead to results out of all proportion in importance to the "original causes." If the Indian representatives did not press this aspect of the question last year it is not because they did not realise their force or importance, but because they felt that the sympathetic attitude of the oversea Ministers made it unnecessary for any special emphasis to be laid on the racial aspect of these questions. A most excellent start was made last year and the impression created in India was most favourable. It would be a thousand pities if steps were not now taken to give effect and tangible shape to the good understanding and mutual comprehension attained last year. It is also obvious that these important questions should be settled not in any petty huckstering spirit of reciprocity only, far less of militant animosity and retaliation, but on those broad principles of justice and equality which are now more than ever the guiding principles of the British Empire, and which must be the foundations of the mighty Empire round the shores of

the Pacific and the Indian Oceans which are slowly but surely rising before one's eyes.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

Annex. 2 :—Extract from Proceedings of the Imperial War Conference, 24th July, 1918.

Chairman :—Mr. Hughes cannot come this morning, and Sir Robert Borden is away. The first subject on the agenda is Reciprocity of Treatment between India and the Dominions, on which there is a Memorandum by Sir Satyendra Sinha, which has been circulated, and also a draft Resolution, which I understand is the result of a meeting at the India Office. Shall I read the draft Resolution as the basis of discussion?

Sir S. P. Sinha :—As you please, Sir.

Chairman :—The Resolution is as follows :—

"The Imperial War Conference is of opinion that effect should now be given to the principle of reciprocity approved by Resolution 22 of the Imperial War Conference, 1917. In pursuance of that Resolution it is agreed that :—

"1. It is an inherent function of the Governments of the several communities of the British Commonwealth, including India, that each should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other communities.

"2. British citizens domiciled in any British country, including India, should be admitted into other British country for visits, for the purpose of pleasure or commerce, including temporary residence for the purpose of education. The conditions of such visits should be regulated on the principle of reciprocity, as follows :—

"(a) The right of the Government of India is recognised to enact laws which shall have the effect of subjecting British citizens domiciled in any other British country to the same conditions in visiting India as those imposed on Indians desiring to visit such country.

"(b) Such right of visit or temporary residence shall, in each individual case, be embodied in a passport or written permit issued by the country of domicile and subject to *visa* there by an officer appointed by and acting on behalf of the country to be visited, if such country so desires.

"(c) Such right shall not extend to a visit or temporary residence for labour purposes or to permanent settlement.

"3. Indians already permanently domiciled in the other British countries should be allowed to bring in their wives and minor children on condition (a) that not more than one wife and her children shall be admitted for each such Indian, and (b) that each individual so admitted shall be certified by the Government of India as being the lawful child of such Indian.

"4. The Conference recommends the other questions covered by the memoranda presented this year and last year to the Conference by the representatives of India, so far as not dealt with in the foregoing paragraphs of this Resolution, to the various Governments concerned with a view to early consideration."

Sir S. P. Sinha :—Mr. Long, I am desired by my colleague, the Maharajah of Patiala, who is unfortunately prevented from being present to-day, to express his entire concurrence in what I am going to say to the Conference. I also regret exceedingly the absence of Sir Robert Bordon, because I wanted to express in his presence my deep feeling of gratitude for the generous and sympathetic spirit in which he has treated the whole question, both last year and this year. I desire to express my gratitude to him for the very great assistance he has rendered, to which I think the satisfactory solution which has been reached is very largely due—that is, if the Conference accepts the Resolution which I have the honour to propose.

Sir, the position of Indian immigrants in the Colonies has been the cause of great difficulties both in the Dominions themselves and particularly in my own country, India. As long ago as 1897, the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in addressing the Conference of Colonial Premiers, made a stirring appeal on behalf of the Indians who had emigrated to the Dominions. The same appeal was made in 1907 by Mr. Asquith, and in 1911. During all this time India was not represented at the Conference and it is only due to the India Office here to say that they did all they could to assist us. In 1911, the Marquiss of Crewe, as Secretary of State for India, presented a Memorandum to the Conference, which is printed in the proceedings for that year, and I cannot do better than just read one of the passages from that Memorandum :—

"It does not appear to have been thoroughly considered that each Dominion owes responsibility to the rest of the Empire for ensuring that its domestic policy shall not unnecessarily create embarrassment in the administration of India.

"It is difficult for statesmen who have seen Indians represented only by manual labourers and petty traders to realise the importance to the Empire as a whole of a country with some three hundred million inhabitants, possessing ancient civilisations of a very high order, which has furnished and furnishes some of the finest military material in the world to the Imperial forces, and which offers the fullest opportunities to financial and commercial enterprise. It is difficult to convey to those who do not know India the intense and natural resentment felt by veterans of the Indian Army, who have seen active service and won medals under the British flag; and who have been treated by their British Officers with the consideration and courtesy to which their character entitles them, when (as has actually happened) they find themselves described as 'coolies' and treated with contemptuous severity in parts of the British Empire. Matters like this are of course, very largely beyond the power of any Government to control, but popular misunderstandings are such a fruitful source of mischief that it seems worth while to put on record the grave fact that a radically false conception of the real position of India is undoubtedly rife in many parts of the Empire.

"The immigration difficulty, however, has, on the whole, been met by a series of statutes which succeeded in preventing Asiatic influx without the use of differential or insulting language. It is accepted that the Dominions shall not admit as permanent residents people whose mode of life is inconsistent with their own political and social ideals.

"But the admission of temporary visitors, to which this objection does not apply, has not yet been satisfactorily settled. If the questions were not so grave, it would be seem to be ludicrous that regulations framed with an eye to coolies should affect Ruling Princes who are in subordinate alliance with His Majesty and have placed their troops at his disposal, members of the Privy Council of the Empire, or gentlemen who have the honour to be His Majesty's own Aides de Camp. It is, of course, true that no person of such distinguished position would, in fact, be turned back if he visited one of the Dominions. But these Indian gentlemen are known to entertain very strongly the feeling that, while they can move freely in the best society of any European capital, they could not set foot in some of the Dominions without undergoing vexatious catechisms from petty officials. At the same time, the highest posts in the Imperial service in India are open to subjects of His Majesty from the Dominions.

"The efforts of the British Government to create and foster a sense of citizenship in India have, within the last few years, undoubtedly been hampered by the feeling of soreness caused by the general attitude of the Dominions towards the peoples of India. The loyalty of the great mass of Indians to the Throne is a very conspicuous fact, and it is noteworthy that this feeling is sincerely entertained by many Indian critics of the details of British administration. The recent constitutional changes have given the people of the country increased association with the Government, and have at the same time afforded Indians greater opportunities of bringing to the direct notice of Government their views on the wider question of the place of India in the Empire. The gravity of the friction between Indians and the Dominions lies in this, that on the Colonial question, and on that alone, are united the seditious agitators, and the absolutely loyal representatives of moderate Indian opinions."

This, Sir, was in 1911, three years before the War; and if the position was correctly described then, you will conceive with how much greater strength the same observations apply to the present position as between India and the Dominions. Of course, since 1911, so far as South-Africa is concerned, many practical grievances which then existed have, I gratefully acknowledge, been removed, but there are still many others outstanding. Those are referred to in the memorandum which has been circulated to the Conference, and I trust my friends Mr. Burton and General Smuts, to whose statesmanship South-Africa, including all its inhabitants, owes so much, will be able, on their return to their own country in process of time to remove all, or at any rate some, of the grievances to which I refer. I recognise that it is a matter of time. I recognise their desire to remove those grievances, and I appreciate the difficulties of getting any legislation through their own Parliaments for that purpose; but at the same time I hope the matter will not be lost sight of, and that an early consideration will be given to matters which have not been the subject of agreement between us on this occasion.

But, Sir, so far as the outstanding difficulty of India is concerned, I am happy to think that the Resolution which I now propose before the Conference, if accepted, will get rid of that which has caused the greatest amount of trouble both in Canada and in India. There are now about 4,000 or 5,000 I think nearer 4,000 than 5,000—Indians in the Dominion of Canada, mostly in British Columbia, I think, in fact, all in British Columbia; and the great difficulty of their position—a difficulty which is appreciated in India—is that these men are not allowed to take their wives and

children with them. Now the Resolution, in paragraph 3, removed this difficulty—that is to say, if it is accepted and given effect to—and I consider that that will cause the greatest satisfaction to my countrymen, and particularly to that great community of Sikhs who have furnished the largest number of soldiers during the war, and to whom these 4,000 men in Canada belong.

The principle of reciprocity which was accepted by the Conference on the last occasion is again referred to with approval, and effect is to be given to it immediately as regards some of the most urgent matters concerned.

I have read from Lord Crew's Memorandum, Sir, the ludicrous position which now exists with regard to Indians of position visiting the Dominions. That position will be altogether altered if the Conference accepts the second part of the Resolution which I propose—namely, that "British citizens domiciled in any British country admitted into any other British country, including India, should be country for visits," and that the system of passports now in existence be continued, which would prevent any influx of undesirable labour population.

I think that, as the whole matter has been before the Conference so long, it would not be right for me to take up the time of the Conference further. I venture to think that if this Resolution is accepted, it will solve many of the most acute difficulties which have arisen between the Dominions and India and, speaking for India, I can assure you that it will cause the greatest satisfaction, and will help us to allay the agitation which, particularly at a time like this, is a source of grave embarrassment. That is all I have to say, Sir.

Mr. Rowell: There are just one or two observations I should like to make, Mr. Chairman. May I say how sincerely Sir Robert Borden regrets that he could not be here this morning for this question. He has personally taken a very keen interest in the question, and I am sure he will appreciate the very kind references which the representatives of India have made to his endeavour to find a solution of the difficulties which have existed for many years between India and the Dominions in connection with this very important problem.

The Resolution as submitted is accepted by Canada. We have had several conferences, and the terms of the Resolution represent an understanding arrived at by India and the Dominions. We look upon it as a matter of importance that the principle implied in the first paragraph of the Resolution should be frankly recognised by all the communities within the British Common wealth. We recognise that there are distinctions in racial characteristics, and in other

matters, which make it necessary that, while we fully recognise the principle of reciprocity, each should exercise full control over its own population. The other paragraphs of the Resolution give effect to the proposals which have been discussed before the Committee set up by the Conference for the purpose, and give effect in such a way as I am sure we all hope will meet the general approval of the citizens of the Dominions and of India, as well as of the other portions of the Empire. We are glad to be able to remove the grounds of objection which India has felt, particularly with reference to the liberty of the Indian residents in Canada to bring their wives and minor children to Canada; but it was felt that this matter could not be dealt with except as part of the whole problem, and it is in connection with the solution of the whole problem that this forms an important part.

I think the number of Sikhs in Canada is not quite so large as Sir Satyendra has mentioned. While there was this number at one time, I think a number have returned to India, and the number is not now large. I am sure we all appreciate the splendid qualities which the Sikhs have shown in the War, and the magnificent contribution which that portion of India particularly has given to the fighting forces of the Empire, and I am sure it would have been a matter of gratification to us all if Sir Robert Borden could have been here when this important matter was being dealt with by the Conference. I am also confident that the effect of this resolution will be to draw together the Dominions and India into closer bonds of sympathy and to cement the bonds that bind our whole Empire together as a unit for great national purposes—for those great, humane, and Imperial purposes for which our Empire exists.

Chairman: Mr. Cook, do you desire to say anything on this?

Mr. Cook: No, I think not, Sir.

Mr. Massey: I am very glad that this solution of the difficulty has been arrived at. So far as New Zealand is concerned there is no serious difficulty. We have very, very few Indians in New Zealand, and so far as I know, the people of India have never shown any tendency to emigrate to New Zealand. I simply state the fact—I am not able to explain the reason. The objections, I understand, have come mostly from Canada and South Africa, and I am very glad indeed, from what has been said, to learn that those objections have been removed. Of course, we shall have the administration of the law in so far as it does apply to New Zealand, but I do not anticipate any difficulty there, and I think what has been done to-day not only removes the present difficulties, such as they are, but will prevent serious difficulty occurring in the future. I value the Resolu-

tion on that account really more than on any other. Though New Zealand, as I have said, is not seriously interested in this matter, I have no doubt if Indians had come to New Zealand in considerable numbers, objections would have been raised, and it would have been the duty of the Government to take the matter in hand. That, however, has not taken place.

I should like to learn from Sir Satyendra Sinha whether this will affect Fiji in any way. Fiji is a neighbour of ours, and most of our sugar is produced there. It is not refined there, but is sent to Auckland for refining purposes. I understand a very large number—I am not going into details, but I believe over 60,000 Indians are employed in Fiji at the present time in the production of sugar. I simply ask the question because the point is likely to be raised as to whether it will affect them.

Sir S P Sinha : In no way.

Mr. Massey : I am very glad to hear it. I hope as far as Fiji labour is concerned that even in Fiji some satisfactory solution of the difficulty will be arrived at in connection with that Dependency of the Empire. I know there is a little friction—not serious, but a little—but as far as I can understand the position—I do not profess to know the whole details—the difficulties are not insurmountable.

Sir S. P. Sinha : The difficulties are of a different nature. I hope they have been practically solved.

Mr. Massey : That is all I wish to say, Sir.

Mr. Burton : The matters which were raised by Sir Satyendra Sinha and the Maharaja in connection with this question present, I suppose, some of the most difficult and delicate problems which we have had to deal with, and which it is our duty as statesmen to attempt to solve satisfactorily if the British Empire is to remain a healthy organisation. I am sure we all feel, as far as we are concerned—I have told Sir Satyendra myself that my own attitude has been, and I am sure it is the attitude of my colleagues—sympathetic towards the Indian position generally. There are, of course, difficulties, and it would be idle to disguise the fact that many of these difficulties are of substantial importance, which have to be faced in dealing with this matter. But I do not despair of satisfactory solutions being arrived at.

Sir Satyendra Sinha has been good enough to refer to the attitude adopted by Canada and ourselves in discussing this matter in Committee, and I think it is only right from our point of view to add that the possibility of our arriving at a satisfactory solution on this occasion has been due very largely indeed to the reasonable and moderate attitude which the Indian representatives themselves

have adopted. But for that, of course, the difficulties would have been ever so much greater. As far as we are concerned, it is only fair to say—and it is the truth—that we have found that the Indians in our midst in South Africa, who form in some parts a very substantial portion of the population, are good, law-abiding, quiet citizens, and it is our duty to see, as he himself expressed it, that they are treated as human beings, with feelings like our own, and in a proper manner.

As to the details, I need not go into all of them. Paragraph No. 3 embodies, as a matter of fact, the present law of the Union of South Africa. That is our position there, so that our agreement as to that is no concession. I pointed out to Sir Satyendra when we were in Committee, that in some of these points which he brought up as affecting South Africa, I thought in all probability, if he were in a position to investigate some of them himself, he would find that perhaps the complaints had been somewhat exaggerated. I cannot help feeling that that is the case, but I will not go into these matters now. As far as we are concerned in South Africa, we are in agreement with this Resolution, and also with the proposal referring the Memorandum to the consideration of our Government, and we will give it the most sympathetic consideration that we can, certainly.

Sir Joseph Ward: Mr. Long, this is a development in connexion with the Empire that I regard as one of the very greatest importance. At the last Conference we made a move in the direction of meeting the wishes of India, and this Resolution, now embodying the results arrived at by the Committee which has been enquiring into this matter, carries the matter, I think rightly so, a good deal further. I think it is a move in the right direction. The underlying recognition of the right of the overseas communities to control their own populations within or coming to their own territories is one as to which no recommendation from this Conference, if it were made in the opposite to their wishes, could have the least effect within any portion of the British Empire, and in that respect it is laying down a foundation upon which I regard the whole of these proposals as being based.

The important factor in connection with it is this. All our countries, at all events, New Zealand, have in the past, from causes or reasons one need not specially refer to, viewed with some concern the possibility of large numbers of Indians coming to them and becoming factors that would disturb, interfere with, or change the course of employment. I am of the opinion that the first proposal submitted is one that would be agreed to by every reasonable person in our country and would meet with their approval.

I take the opportunity of saying that sub-clause (c) of the second paragraph of this draft Resolution "Such right shall not extend to a visit or temporary residence for labour purposes or to permanent settlement"—completely meets the position that a good many peoples have had difficulties about, and I assume the Indian representatives are just as familiar with them as we are.

Upon the question of the introduction—although I have nothing to do with it as a representative here—of the wives of those men who have been admitted into Canada, that is, in my opinion, not only a wise thing to do, but on the highest grounds, possibly moral grounds—it seems to be a legitimate corollary to what the Canadian Dominion have done with regard to the 4,000 or 5,000 men who are there.

And I want to say with regard to the Memorandum which has been placed before us by the Indian representative on those several matters, that as far as I am concerned I have read the Memorandum very carefully this morning, and I shall be glad, at the proper time, to give the matters referred to the fullest consideration in our country.

Mr. Montagu : Mr. Long, may I just detain the Conference one minute to express, on behalf of the Government of India and my colleagues, our gratitude for the way in which this Resolution has been received at this meeting of the Conference. Sir Joseph Ward has rightly said that this Resolution has taken the question a good deal further. I emphasise that by way of caution, and I hope I shall not be charged with ingratitude when I say that it would not be fair to the Conference to regard that Resolution as a solution of all outstanding questions. Many of them can only be cured by time. Many of them, as Mr. Burton has said, require careful study. But I feel sure that the spirit in which the Resolution has been met, and the whole attitude which the representatives of the various Dominions have taken towards it, will prove to India that as matters progress, and as time advances, there is every prospect that Indians throughout the Empire will be treated not only as human beings, but will have all the rights and privileges of British citizens.

Mr. Cook :—Mr. Long, may I just say one word, lest my silence be misunderstood. As my friends know, I attended the Committee meeting yesterday, and concurred in these proposals, and the reason I do not occupy the time of the Conference is that there is nothing specifically relating to Australia in them. That is to say, many of the things referred to in this Memorandum are concessions which have already been agreed to in Australia very many years ago, even with regard to the bringing of the wives and minor children. Whatever the technical difficulties may be, I do not

think there is trouble occurring along those lines. At any rate, I am one of those who believe that when we admit a man to our shores we should admit his wife also and his family, and if we are not prepared to admit his wife and family, we have no right to admit him. It seems to me that is among the elementary things. I concur entirely with the proposal in that respect, but that being the only outstanding feature of the proposal which can in the remotest degree affect Australia, I will not take up time in discussing the matter, but agree cordially with what has been suggested and what has been done. I think we owe a great debt of gratitude to India for the attitude she has taken since this War began.

Chairman :—Perhaps I may be allowed to say a word in putting the Resolution. It will only be a very brief one. Last year the Conference was specially marked by the addition to our councils of the representatives of India, and I think we all feel that that made the Conference more complete and more real than it ever claimed to be before. This year sees another steady step forward and I am bound to say that I think, having followed these proceedings very closely—I had the privilege to be present at the meeting which the Prime Minister of Canada was good enough to summon last year, when Sir Satyendra put the general case before us, and I think you will agree that that was a very useful meeting and started us in the direction which has been consistently followed since—I think this steady advance is due, as has been said, not only to the wise, moderate, and extremely able line taken by Sir Satyendra and his colleagues—last year it was Sir James Meston and the Maharaja of Bikanir who represented India with him, while this year it is the Maharaja of Patiala—but also to the very statesmanlike view which has been taken of their responsibilities by those who speak on behalf of the great Self-governing Dominions of the Empire. And certainly I rejoice more than I can say to see this evidence of the steady progress of the Empire along those lines which have been always followed in the past, and which, I believe, have made the Empire what it is—the recognition of fundamental principles, and a steady refusal to deny to any citizen of the Empire the privileges of Empire simply because of the accident of birth or locality. I regard this as a very important decision. On behalf of the Conference, I may perhaps be allowed to offer my congratulations to those who represent India and the Dominions upon this very considerable step in the development of our Empire. May I put the Resolution?

(The Resolution was carried unanimously.)

Savoy Hotel.

Dinner to Lord Sinha—Mar. 12, 1919.

The **MAHARAJAH OF BIKANIR** presided on March 12, 1919 at a complimentary dinner to Lord Sinha, Under-Secretary of state for India, at the Savoy Hotel.

Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, returned from Paris in order to attend; and among those present were :—

H. H. The Aga Khan, Lord Carmichael, Messrs Fisher, Barnes, Lords Hardinge, Donoughmore, Elphinstone, Cromer, Islington, Leigh, Willingdon, Brassey, H. Cavendish Bentinck, the Maharajah of Mayurbhanj, Lords Sligo, Lamington, Gainford, Mr. Herbert Samuel Sir George Foster, Sir Arthur Lawley, Major Sir Philip Grey-Egerton, Sir Thomas Berridge, Sir W. R. Lawrence, Colonel Sir J. Dunlop Smith, Sir Abbas Ali Baig, Colonel Thakar Sadul Singh, Mr. B. N. Basu, Mr. T. Lall, Sir Charles Bailey and others.

Bikanir's Speech

The Maharaja of Bikanir proposing the health of Lord Sinha said : he had the greatest pleasure in associating himself whole-heartedly with Lord Sinha's other friends, whose name was legion, in offering the warmest congratulations upon the honour which the King-Emperor had been graciously pleased to bestow upon him. Another object of this function was to enable Indians to express their grateful appreciation of the true statesmanship and rare stroke of imagination which had prompted the Secretary of State to suggest and the Premier to accept Lord Sinha's appointment, which India welcomed as clearly emphasising the determination of His Majesty's Government to carry out without unnecessary delay a substantial measure of constitutional reform. The Maharaja of Bikanir paid a tribute to Lord Sinha's modesty and profound patrio-

tism combined with the utmost loyalty to the British Crown and his grateful appreciation of all that India's connection with British meant for India, also his high sense of public duty, his political insight and strength of character. He had never attempted to court cheap popularity by playing to the gallery. He had always unhesitatingly spoken and acted according to the dictates of his conscience in support of what appeared to him best for India and the British Empire. Law, order, and good government had been as dear to Lord Sinha as the continued political advancement of his countrymen. These characteristics had distinguished Lord Sinha throughout his career. His sterling worth had won for him both east and west of Suez the respect of Englishmen and Indians alike. His country was justly proud of this great Indian who had led the way in so many spheres with such conspicuous merit and success.

If there was one Indian whose appointment as Under-Secretary was certain to evoke widespread approbation it was Lord Sinha. The cordial reception with which the innate sense of justice and fairplay characterising the British people had been extended to Lord Sinha's appointment virtually unanimously by the responsible press and informed public opinion in England, had been noted with lively gratification in India, but there had been a few insinuations and misrepresentations by those who posing as experts on India had been assiduously carrying on an anti-Reform and anti-Indian campaign.

He continued :—

It is an open secret—and I hear that that popular Governor, Lord Willingdon (cheers) told the story in a sympathetic speech at the dinner recently given in his honour—that for some years the highest authorities in India had been urging upon His Majesty's Government the pressing necessity for a declaration of British policy in relation to Indian aspirations. I think I can add without impropriety that it subsequently fell to the lot of those of us who had the honour of representing India here two years ago further to press this consideration. This view was accepted by that high-minded statesman, Mr. Austen Chamberlain. His successor, within a few weeks of receiving the seals of office, made the most welcome and historic announcement of the 20th August, 1917 (cheers), with the full authority of His Majesty's Government and the concurrence of the Government of India. Two months later, in the Upper House, Lord Curzon showed the necessity for this action in the following eloquent terms :

"You cannot unchain the forces which are now loosened and at

work in every part of the world without having a repercussion which extends over every hemisphere and every ocean; and believe me, the events happening in Russia, in Ireland, in almost every country in Europe, the speeches being made about little nations and the spirit of nationality have their echo in India itself. If the noble Viscount (Lord Midleton) had been at the India Office in the past summer he would have been the first to bring to us those serious representations continually coming from the Government of India and its head to have called upon us to take action and make some pronouncement. That is exactly what happened, and this statement of policy, not at all challenging, couched, I think, in most moderate and certainly in well thought-out terms, was the subject of repeated discussion at the Cabinet."

The Declaration and the official visit to India of Mr. Montagu at the express invitation of the Viceroy, were productive of immense good (cheers)—a view which is widely shared by both the Princes and people of India.

The Anti-Indian Agitation.

We knew some of our old Anglo Indian friends too well to expect them to be in real sympathy with such a declaration. And no reasonable person will for a moment cavil at honest differences of opinion. But what do we find? On the 30th of October, 1917—several days before Mr. Montagu had reached India on the mission with which His Majesty's Government had specially entrusted him—the Indo-British Association held its inaugural meeting in London. The minutes of its proceedings were published under the surprising title of "The Interests of India." (Laughter.) Perhaps it was chosen because one of the professed objects of the Association is, we are told, "to promote and foster the unity and advancement of the Indian peoples." (Laughter.) The methods, arguments, and manifold activities of the Association have, however, singularly disguised this avowed aim, and all that we can say is—Save us from such friends. (Cheers.)

The Association does not expressly oppose the Declaration. But its real hostility to the policy of His Majesty's Government is revealed in almost every phase of its activity. From the first it has been developing a ceaseless pamphleteering and press propaganda. The booklets and leaflets it issues so freely are intended to alarm the ordinary man as to the condition of India, to belittle in every possible way the educated classes of that country (and indeed everyone who

has the temerity to disagree with its views), and to appeal to the personal and class interests at one time of the working man, at another—and more frequently—of business firms participating in Indian trade. Such firms were asked by circular, intended to be private, but which found a publicity unwelcome to the authors, for subscriptions to the Association of any sums from £1,000 downwards. The suggestion was made in this begging letter that such subscriptions could be regarded as “insurance premiums for British interests in India.” We believe in an industrial as well as a political future for our country, but we have yet to learn that the Indian Empire exists for exploitation by any particular commercial interests. As my right honourable friend, Mr. Chamberlain, publicly said when Secretary of State, India refuses to be regarded any longer in the economic sphere as a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water. But industrial development means increased purchasing power, and British trade stands to gain and not to lose thereby.

Unjustifiable Attacks:

My Lords and Gentlemen, if I have not been greatly misinformed, I think that the word “reaction” has not been entirely unknown in connection with your domestic policy (Laughter). And one section of your extremists in this country—for India has no monopoly of this class of people (laughter)—are sounding shrill notes of alarm about India. Without going back to earlier occasions, we recollect that similar cries were raised some twelve years ago, when the Morley-Minto Reforms were under consideration; but with this difference, that as there is now an Indo-British Association, the anti-reform agitation is more noisy and persistent. Uneasily conscious that they are fighting a bad case, the Association—and in my remarks to-night I include generally the writer and speakers who have been co-operating in the campaign—freely resort to wholesale vituperation and personal abuse. Indians—including the dangerous and scheming Bengali Peer on my right (laughter)—have been indiscriminately branded as agitators, and India represented as seething with sedition and crime.

The policies of four consecutive Secretaries of State—Lord Morley, Lord Crewe, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and Mr. Montagu—and of three consecutive Viceroys—Lords Minto, Hardinge and Chelmsford (cheer)—have been criticised in the most unjust terms. In fact, the “noncontents” would have you believe that they are right and that the Prime Minister, His Majesty’s Government, the

Secretary of State, the Viceroy, and the Government of India are all wrong. (Laughter.) We are even asked to believe that Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford are out to weaken British authority in India, and that they are courting a grave political disaster. The burden of their jeremiad comes to this: Carry the reforms through, aim at responsible government in India, and you strike a blow at the rule of the King-Emperor in India. But they have deliberately suppressed the fact that the Indian leaders fully recognize and have repeatedly stated that their ideal of self-government can only be realized by India remaining an integral part of the British Empire. This recognition is prompted not only by that deep and universal loyalty of the Indian people to their beloved Sovereign which their religion and traditions enjoin, but also by what has been termed "reasoned attachment."

The Rowlatt Report.

The mendacity and unfairness of such a campaign is nowhere more conspicuous—and that is saying a great deal—than in a pamphlet of the Association, under the title of "Danger in India: Sedition and Murder," an annotated eptiome of the findings of the Rowlatt Committee. You can imagine how eagerly anti-reform capital is made therein of these findings. Lamentable and serious as are the outrages dealt with in the Report, they relate to the nefarious activities of an infinitely small number out of a loyal Indian population of 315 millions, constituting one fifth of the inhabitants of the globe. (Cheers.)

It cannot too often be emphasized that India, especially in the last decade or so, has been progressing at such a rapid rate that the people who left the country even five years ago are not entitled to speak as experts. And it is all very well to refer to isolated incidents and opinions of individuals—usually anonymous—claiming to represent this or the other class in India. What India asks is that her affairs should be judged as a whole and by the public declarations of her responsible leaders.

The Ruling Princes.

Finally, I must deal with an issue on which I claim a first-hand knowledge, at least not inferior to that of the Indo-British Association or even of vehement leader-writers in organs echoing its views. (Cheers.) The impression has been very freely conveyed that the Princes of India are hostile not only to Lord Sinha's ap-

pointment but also to the reforms under contemplation. As one who has the honour to represent in England for the second time the Princes of India, I feel it my bounden duty to give to this gross misrepresentation the most authoritative and emphatic denial.

May I preface what I have to say with a word of explanation? As is well known the Indian Princes belong to no political parties whether here or in India. Their territories, representing an area of about one-third of the vast Indian Empire, are outside the limits of British India proper, and British jurisdiction is inapplicable therein. The interests of the Princes and their subjects—who constitute more than one-fifth of the entire Indian population—are thus already safeguarded in many ways by treaties of friendship and alliance concluded, almost invariably at least a century ago, and sometimes longer, between the Rulers and the East India Company. When the administration of British India was transferred to the Crown more than sixty years ago, these treaties were accepted as permanently binding both by Queen Victoria and the British Parliament. Such assurances have been graciously reiterated by each successive British Sovereign in regard to the pledges and rights secured by the Princes through such treaties.

It follows that in matters relating to administrative reform in British India, the Ruling Princes are in the direct sense disinterested parties, actuated by no selfish considerations or personal motives, and that they have no axe to grind. I hope that their loyal and deep devotion to the King-Emperor and their attachment to the Empire need no words from me. (Cheers) Their only concern is to see such measures adopted as will further popularize, strengthen, and preserve the ties that bind England and India together. They have amply demonstrated time and again that in any matter endangering the Empire they can always be relied upon unhesitatingly to fight for the British Throne, and to range themselves in a solid phalanx on the side of constituted authority. (Hear, hear.) Nothing is more true than what has been repeatedly stated by the high officers of the Crown and the Princes themselves that there is a very great and real identity of interests between the British Government and the Princes.

Is it conceivable, therefore, that the Princes would be in sympathy with, much less advocate, measures of a revolutionary nature, or prejudicial to the stability of the King-Emperor's rule in India.

Sympathy with the Political Advance.

Nearly two years ago, speaking publicly in London for the Princes, I stated that the Rulers of the Indian States, far from being alarmed at or resenting any political advance in British India, would rejoice at such progress. Nevertheless, persistent allegations to the contrary have continued to be made by Lord Sydenham and others. It has even been stated in a recent book, described in Mr. Garvin's paper, by one speaking with authoritative knowledge of India, as "a harmful and spiteful contribution to the study of Indian reform," that some of us (and the reference to myself is obvious) do not represent the views of our Brother Princes; whilst in another page it is definitely asserted that the Maharajah of Patialla and myself were merely re-echoing the "gentle words" of Lord Sinha! (Laughter).

I propose, therefore to show categorically and conclusively the enlightened and favourable views held by the Princes of India generally in this connection.

He then quoted several speeches of Princes to show that the Princes favoured Reforms, the proceedings of, and the sentiments expressed at, the last Delhi Conference of Ruling Princes were next referred to and he quoted the Maharaja of Scindia.

Turning Point.

My Lords and Gentlemen, we are now face to face with one of the most critical periods in the political regeneration of India under the aegis of the British Crown. The decisions regarding Indian constitutional reform, ultimately reached in this country, must irrevocably affect, for good or ill, India's future political progress. (Cheers). Thus a very grave responsibility lies on His Majesty's Government, and the British Parliament and people. It rests with them, by seizing the golden opportunity now offered of handling the Indian problem in a sympathetic and liberal spirit, with imagination, breadth of view and boldness, to bring about the greater happiness and the enhanced loyalty and contentment of the people of India. Thereby they will be doing a great service, not only to India, but also to the Empire as a whole, and will be acting in accord with the best traditions of Great Britain, the nursing mother of representative institutions and free nations. She has taught us to appreciate fully the rights and liberties of citizenship, which now more than at any previous time, have become the natural aim and desire of every civilized people all the world over. Not only will India be placed well on the road to the goal of responsible

government, as an integral part of the Empire, she will also be enabled to bear a still greater share in Imperial burdens and responsibilities. A great deal of what has come to be known as "legitimate unrests" will further subside, and the anxiety and uncertainty in men's minds will be replaced by an ever-increasing confidence in the fulfilment of Britain's glorious mission in India. Instead of being discredited and disheartened, the ranks of sobriety, moderation, and restraint will receive constant accessions of strength. A loyal, developing, and contented India will be an asset of immense value to the Empire. (Cheers).

A Note of Warning.

On the other hand, should reactionary tendencies prevail in wrecking or whittling down the reforms or leading to inadequate or half-hearted measures, inconsistent with the spirit and letter of the Declaration, a situation of extreme gravity will be created. Speaking under a strong sense of duty to the King-Emperor and the vast Empire under his sway, I wish to sound this solemn note of warning. Should the counsels of the opponents of genuine reform be followed, feelings of bitter disappointment and grievous wrong will be dominant throughout the length and breadth of India. (Loud cheers). The full force of that dissatisfaction no man can gauge; but it must be obvious that in comparison with it the unrest and discontent of recent years would seem small. Should such a situation ensue, it is a matter for earnest consideration, whether the Indian people would be held solely responsible at the bar of history for results which would be as deplorable as they would be unfair both for Great Britain and for India. Let me assure you as an Indian, that India's Princes and people ardently desire progress without disorder, reform without revolution. (Cheers).

We are persuaded to expect better things than that the British Government and Parliament should accept the guidance of reactionaries whose activities and constant libels on the Indian peoples are responsible in no small degree for the unrest, constitute a barrier to better feelings and closer understanding between Indians and Englishmen, and have so baneful an influence upon impressionable youths. Let us not forget Edmund Burke's striking axiom that "a great empire and little minds go ill together." As Lord Carmichael, another popular Governor, pointed out in the House of Lords last August, we cannot stand still; we must either go back or go forward. To go back, he said, is a policy the people of the Empire

will not tolerate. Liberal ty, sympathy, and bold statesmanship have invariably answered well and advanced the greatness of the Empire in the past—notably in the case of the South African Union—and they will certainly not be misplaced in the India of to-day. (Cheers). Some two and a half years before the outbreak of war, His gracious Majesty said in his ever-memorable speech at Calcutta :

“Six years ago I sent from England to India a message of sympathy : to-day, in India I give to India the watchword of hope. On every side I trace the signs and stirrings of new life.”

India has amply proved her right to share in the fairer and better world which we have all been promised on every hand, at the victorious termination of the mighty struggle. If the British Government will but seize occasion by the hand to shape the promised reforms on bold and generous lines at the earliest possible opportunity, they will confirm the solidarity of the widely varied dominions of His Imperial King Majesty George V by strengthening the most enduring ties between England and India—those of mutual trust and helpfulness. (Loud applause.)

My Lords and Gentlemen, I give you the toast of Lord Sinha.

Lord Sinha.

The Right Hon. Lord Sinha, who was received with great enthusiasm, said :—

Your Highness, my Lords and Gentlemen—I can hardly express my sense of gratefulness to your Highness for the very kind, much too kind, and cordial terms in which you have proposed the toast of my health, and to you, my Lords and Gentlemen, for your very generous response. I should be more than human, less than human if I may say so, if I failed to be touched to the innermost recesses of my heart by this warm expression of your goodwill towards me, and I say without exaggeration that it will leave an abiding impression on my mind. But I am sure you will not think me vain enough to take this generous appreciation on your part of the position to which I have been called by the King-Emperor as in any sense personal to myself. My appointment as Under-Secretary of State for India is a striking illustration of the principle which Great Britain has adopted in the government of our commonwealth as applied to India. We, the loyal Indian subjects of His Majesty, have been holding fast for now more than sixty years to the gracious proclamation of Queen Victoria, emphasizing the abolition of all distinctions of race and

religion in the administration of India as the great Charter of our rights ; but slowly, steadily, almost imperceptibly, the march of events has taken us far beyond the position which that great proclamation gave us. India has been given a recognized and honoured place in the central councils of the Empire in war and peace, her Princes and her people have been treated as the equal custodians of our joint heritage, and Indian aspirations are measured today not in terms of our country, great as she is, but in terms of a greater fatherland of which India forms an integral part. (Cheers.) Indian representatives have participated on equal terms with the rest of the Empire in the anxious deliberations of war and peace ; and though I frankly confess (not in any spirit of assumed humility, but in all seriousness) that I am all too unworthy of the great honour done to me, England has shown to the world that in her Imperial family she recognizes the claims of all its members and disregards the prejudices which have prevailed for centuries.

Equal Citizenship.

I have no doubt that you are here tonight, not so much to do honour to me as to put the seal of your approbation to this policy, to let all whom it may concern know that England is not going to retrace her steps because the danger with which she was threatened is over, but that she holds fast to that great principle of freedom and equality in vindication of which she staked her very existence. (Loud cheers). It is that aspect of my appointment which has given such universal gratification to my countrymen. I have had the honour of receiving congratulatory telegrams which have come pouring in from all parts of India, and indeed from all parts of the world wherever there are Indians, from our great ruling Princes, from heads of ancient religious foundations, from our territorial aristocracy, from the leaders of Indian thought of all shades of opinion, and resolutions of approval and gratitude have been passed by different provincial councils, municipal corporations, district boards, public associations, and at public meetings in towns and villages. What can be the meaning and the significance of this universal acclamation from India ? It is not because of me, for I only occupy the position of an illustration of a great principle ; it is because the great principle to which I have referred has been so strikingly upheld and vindicated, and more especially because such vindication has largely dispelled, as I firmly believe, the doubts and misgivings which were everywhere arising in India owing to indis-

criminate and ill-informed attacks against the educated classes of India, not merely by irresponsible critics in the Press, but even by some who have held high and responsible office in India.

Loyalty of the Educated Classes.

And, sir, I should like to take this opportunity to enter a solemn protest, not so much against scornful sneers or offensive epithets, for these may be left to be their own answer, but against the idea that appears still to prevail in certain quarters that the educated classes of India are unfriendly to British. If by British rule is meant autocracy and domination in the name and under the garb of efficiency, we are opposed to it. (Loud applause.) We should not be worthy of our long connection with Great Britain and of our education if we were not. It is this critical attitude of mind which has in the past brought down upon our devoted heads invectives of reactionary politicians and officials.

I do not deny that there have been occasional aberrations on the part of a very small number, but I venture to think that, when not due to enemy intrigues, these have been almost solely due to the doubts and misgivings I have already referred to—often unreasonable, often unfounded, but still there. I can only express a hope that in the future no act or speech of responsible journalists and statesmen will foment or add to these suspicions. (cheers)

Sir, I venture to assert that the educated classes, without exception, ardently desire to remain within the fold of the British Empire with the status of equal British citizens. They desire equality within the Empire and not severance therefrom. (cheers.) How otherwise is it possible to understand the thrill of pleasure which was felt by all India when Lord Morley referred to me as "one of the King's equal subjects"? How otherwise can we explain the wave of enthusiasm that has passed over India with regard to my recent preferment?

British Congratulations.

Sir, I must also take this opportunity to say what a source of peculiar pride and pleasure it is to me that hosts of my Anglo-Indian and British friends, officials as well as non-officials, have sent me their congratulations in terms no less appreciative, so far as I am personally concerned, and what is more precious to me—recognizing equally with my own countrymen the political

value of the unprecedented step that has been so boldly taken by those who are responsible for the future destiny of this far-flung Empire. To all and each of these friends of mine, I have tried to reply either by cable or by letter, but I take this opportunity of thanking them again, singly and collectively.

The Press, too, both in this country and in India have accorded almost without exception their sanction and approval to my appointment and elevation, and I should like to express grateful thanks, both for myself and my country, for their generous attitude. I hope I may be pardoned for referring to another personal aspect of the matter. I know that there are many countrymen of mine far more deserving than myself of the honours which have been bestowed upon me ("No, no") I can honestly say, I wish that these honours had gone to one of them. But uppermost in my mind to-day, and indeed ever since, the thought that there was one man who would and could have done far the greatest service to India if my position to-day were his—Gopal Krishna Gokhale (loud applause)—whom India shall ever mourn as one of her most patriotic sons and whose untimely death was one of the greatest of our misfortunes. Nor can I help giving expression to a poignant sense of regret that the true friend of Indian aspirations, than whom no man worked more hard or more unselfishly for our advancement—Sir William Wedderburn (cheers)—should not have lived to see what I am sure he would have hailed as a token of the new spirit which to-day animates Great Britain in her relations with India. A high British official and friend of mine has written to me that India has taken my appointment as "clearly showing that His Majesty Government mean business when they declare that it is their intention to raise India to the position of an equal partner in the Empire." (Cheers).

The Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme.

I have no doubt they mean business, and I am confident that a liberal and a generous scheme of reforms will be passed by the Parliament of this country—and that the pre-occupations of the coming peace and the necessity for full consideration of the Reports of the different Committees will not cause any great delay. I am confident that a reform scheme will be in operation within the next months. (cheers.)

is at present, at any rate, one well considered scheme public—the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme. I agree

with so much of what is said in a leading article of yesterday's *Times* that I make no apology for quoting one sentence from it :

"The great need of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme at this juncture is neither laudation nor abuse, of both by which it has had far too much, but constructive criticism of which there has been far too little."

Large parts of that scheme were accepted by all shades of opinion : namely, firstly closer connection between Indian States and British India ; secondly, necessity for as complete decentralisation as possible between the Secretary of State, the Government of India and Provincial Governments ; thirdly, the necessity for complete freedom in local self-Government ; fourthly much larger inclusion of Indians in the superior services, civil and military, fifthly, full industrial development ; sixthly broadening of the franchise of Legislative Councils ; and seventhly transfer of so much control as was consistent with the interests of law and order from the bureaucracy to representatives of the people. Controversy centred principally round the extent of such control and the method of transfer. He trusted that when there was so much agreement a satisfactory solution would be found. Lord Sinha concluded by appealing to Indians not to lose trust in England which had given conspicuous proof that she deserved all their trust in the responsible duties with which she was entrusted (cheers.)

Mr. Montagu.

After this substantial feast, gastronomic and intellectual I am reluctant to detain you many minutes. But I do want to take this opportunity for a little plain speaking (A Voice : That's what we want). The politician who regards it the prime function and duty of his life to promote the welfare and advancement of the Indian Empire, labours under the disadvantage of the rareness of occasions on which he can speak to audiences in England of the situation in the Indian Empire. If, therefore, I abuse your hospitality to-night, it is because I have got the chance of saying just one or two things that are uppermost in my mind.

It is now a little more than eighteen months since I accepted the responsible and high office I now hold, and my experience in that time gathered in India, in England and in Paris, has amplified and magnified the conviction with which I became Secretary of State, that the reform of the Government machine in India is vital

and urgent and ought not to be delayed (loud cheers). The whole spirit of our deliberations across the Channel today is that an Empire can alone be justified by the freedom and liberty which it guarantees, and the motive of the world's statesmanship at this moment is a hatred and detestation of ascendancy and dominion (loud cheers). Therefore I say, my Lords and gentlemen, that those who would stand in the way of Indian reform in this direction are not only in my opinion enemies of the British Empire, but are setting themselves athwart of world wide influence (cheers).

I am part author of a scheme of Indian reforms published for criticism. Never has anything been asked for to which a more generous response has been given (laughter). In pamphlets and in books, in streams and in deluge, criticism has poured forth, much of it helpful and constructive but also much of it prejudiced and ill-willed. His Highness the Maharajah and Lord Sinha have said something about the effect of such strictures upon youth. As I listened to their speeches I felt that they conveyed a lesson for those who write about India of the harm that can be done by ill-considered words, and the mischief that can be wrought by forgetting the sensitiveness of people who are striving for progress. For the British politician abuse and criticism, however ill founded and imaginative, are the bread and butter upon which he lives (laughter.) Sometimes it is a matter of astonishment to those who do not live in England that we hardly take the trouble to answer those who make abuse their stock in trade. People who write and speak on India, however, often forget that their words are far more than for domestic consumption.

The True Decentralisation.

The one thing proposed by the Viceroy and myself which seems to meet with universal satisfaction is the great project of decentralisation (cheers). In a speech I once made and which I have not since been allowed to forget, and before I was appointed to my present office, I dragged into a discussion in the House of Commons on Mesopotamia, by the kindness and toleration of the speaker, a picture of an India for which we should strive, consisting of a group of self-governing provinces or dominions, masters in their own houses, joined together for the common purpose of the country as a whole by the Government of India, and joined by a never-ending bond to the Empire which made them and gave them their liberty. (Cheers). Now nothing on the adminis-

trative side seems to me so obvious in the present administration than the irritation which is felt by those who constitute the Government of India with the horrible institution called the India Office (laughter). It is only equalled by the irritation that is felt by those who constitute the Provincial Governments with the horrible institution which is known as the Government of India (laughter). My Lords and gentlemen, this phenomenon, which is so shocking when you meet it in a partnership arrangement, seems to me inevitable when one authority sits on the head of another. I well remember looking at an excellent picture in *Punch*, drawn I think by Du Maurier, of the inside of an episcopal palace, when a letter was opened from a rector asking permission to do something or other in his parish. The bishop was warming himself in front of the fire, his wife was knitting in the armchair, and their small son in sailor suit was laboriously writing a letter: "Dear Mr. So and So, Dady says you mustn't." (laughter). That is the irritating part. Some inscrutable decree is passed many hundreds of miles away from Delhi or London, often unintelligible to those who receive it, preventing the man on the spot from doing what he wants. Harmony cannot be obtained, a quick solution of present difficulties cannot be achieved unless the Government of India is allowed to run its own affairs, and the Governments of the provinces are similarly given a free hand. (Applause).

Yes, but where does that take us? There can be only one substitute for authority from above. There can be only one substitute for the ultimate control of the British Parliament—and that is the control of the people of India (loud and long continued cheering.) If I stopped at decentralisation I should have the unanimous support of the Indo-British Association (laughter). The Governor would no longer be hampered by tedious and irritating despatches from London; he would be ruler of his own country without the necessity of bothering about the opinions of his Legislative Council. The purpose of the Viceroy and myself, however, is by no means to increase the bureaucratic character of governments in the Province. Decentralisation can only be effective and autonomy can only be brought about by the substitution of responsible government for government by the India Office. (Cheers.)

Government by Vote.

But where does this lead us? It means that the substitute of government by despatch is government by vote. It has often been said that the reforms we propose have the unfortunate feature

that India is unfit to govern itself. To-night I am surrounded by Indians who hold, or have held, high places. We are convinced of the fitness of many. What we want to see is how India learns to use the vote on which the whole machinery will depend. (cheers.) Can Indians grudge a few years in which to see how the franchise works? How many people vote in India to-day? Only a few handfuls. The work of Lord Southborough's committee will enfranchise millions of Indians. Will they vote? Will they know what a vote means and what can be achieved by it? Will the constituencies which the Committee will devise be representative of the Indian Empire? If the British Parliament is the custodian of the growth of self-government in India we must have a few years in which to study the stages of that growth; and Indians have no right to tell us that in providing for this we are acting too cautiously or with too much hesitation.

Communal Electorates.

The first thing to do is to devise a representative electorate. That brings me to the subject of communal representation. I repeat that to my mind this is an unfortunate expedient fraught with many risks. (Hear, hear) However, everything else, theoretical and practical, must be sacrificed to obtaining representative legislative councils. If communal electorates are the only means to this end,—provided that they are designed to give the representation demanded by the necessity of the case—well then, there must be communal representation. (Hear, hear). But if such electorates are advocated simply, as I fear they are sometimes advocated, because there are still in the world believers in the old theory that if you split a country up you can govern it more easily, then communal representation is to be rejected. (Cheers).

I hasten to add that I make an exception for the Mahomedans, to whom we are bound by pledges as solemn as any Government ever gave to any people. To those pledges I am convinced that we shall remain faithful (cheers) until the day comes when the mahomedans themselves tell us that there is no necessity for separate electorates.

May I say one more thing, prompted by the remarks of His Highness, the Aga Khan? I for one do not believe that there is any essential antagonism between the interests of one section of the Indian people and any other. (Loud cheers). If in the Peace Conference it is unfortunate that India is presented by three men

none of whom is a Mahomedan, I can assure the Mahomedans of India that their peculiar interests and aspirations are as zealously voiced and as sympathetically considered by my two colleagues and myself as the opinions, desires and wishes of any other section of the Indian people. (Hear, hear.)

The Services and reform.

I want to say one word about the Indian Civil Service. There is no doubt in the minds of all thinking men that any unprejudiced and well-informed observer of Indian history and conditions will agree that services rendered to the country by the Indian Civil Service will stand for ever conspicuous as the greatest work ever accomplished in the history of the world by the men of one country for the people of another. But it is sometimes said that the reforms proposed will be to alter and prejudice the position of the Indian Services. Yes, it will alter the position. This is a time for plain speaking. The announcement of 20th August, 1917 promised the transfer of responsibility. From whom, to whom? To the people of India from the Civil Service of India. (Cheers). If we said to the Civil Service to-day that their political position will be the same in the future as it has been in the past, the announcement of H. M's. Government becomes meaningless. (Hear, hear). For the past ten years I have been in close association with the Home Civil Service. Is their position unendurable? Is there any doubt about the great imperial services they render because they are subordinate to the policy laid down by Parliament? There is, believe me, for the Indian Civil Service an indispensable and honourable part in the future of India. The pronouncement of eighteen months ago meant nothing unless it meant that the political destinies of India are to be gradually reposed in the people of India, and gradually taken from those who have gloriously built up India as we know it to-day (loud cheers.) Although any talk of reform in his country brings out of retirement those who walk dangerously, as it seems to me, with their heads over their shoulders, gazing admiringly on the past, I do not believe that there is any Civil Servant in India who thinks (though it is sometimes claimed on their behalf) that the appointed destiny of the country can be delayed or altered in the interests of the Service (loud cheers.)

Work of the Transitional Stages.

I turn from the position of the Civil Service to that of Indian workers. It is for Parliament to decide what the Act will be. What I do know is that the reforms that are wanted for India to-day are not concessions flung to the hungry politician, but the opening of

the clearly marked road which will lead the people surely to their appointed destiny (loud cheers.) Nothing matters to me—the irritation, the peculiar anomalies, the novelties, the friction which are prophesied—so much as to be sure of seeing before us the road we are going to take (cheers.) Supposing, as I claim for the Reform Scheme which the Viceroy and I have published for criticism, that the future stages of progress depend not upon agitation but on the principles that constitute the essential ingredients of future stages, what have Indians to do? I tell you that there is only one way of ensuring rapid progress along that road, and that way does not lie in making political speeches abusing a race or class, or abusing your partners in the great experiment. Is there nothing definite that Indians can do during the transitional stages? No tongue can exaggerate the benefits of British rule in India. But education is still confined to a very small minority. Industrial development is in its infancy. Does anybody in this audience realise that last year in the great influenza epidemic no less than six million people died in India? In the State ruled by our Chairman, I believe that one out of seven died. The horrors of war are nothing to the influenza epidemic which has visited the whole earth. But has not the exceptional mortality in India something to do with poverty and the consequent lack of resisting power (cheer)? I say, supposing the questions of public health, education and industrial development were in the power of Indians to work for themselves, would these be dishonourable tasks? Would they not be the tasks for laying the foundation of a great Empire in the future?

When I was very young I was a great admirer of the game of cricket. One thing that impressed upon my youthful observation was always this, that each member of the team was left to discharge the function for which he was responsible. If the whole team ran after a particular ball it fell through their fingers. Nothing was worse for the side at the wickets than to spend its time in the pavilion criticising the batsmen. Let us see that in the new India the functions of each man and of each partner in the combination are defined, and let them each fulfil their appointed tasks without trying to interfere with the functions of others.

British and Indian co-operation.

The basis of this dinner is the honours we desire to do to our guest, Lord Sinha. He and I are called upon to work together as colleagues in the India Office. It was a proud moment of my life when I learned that the recommendation of Lord Sinha as my comrade had been accepted by His Majesty, though at the time I felt a sorrow which you will all understand at the loss of Lord

Islington (cheers) to whom I owe very much for his friendship and assistance, and to whom India owes very much (cheers). Lord Sinha's associations with me has only been a short one ; but we purpose of benefiting the Indian Empire. It seems to me that if you forget personalities and just think of an Englishman and an Indian thus working together in the control of Indian administration, you will have an excellent example of the co-operation and unison between the two races which has been, and believe me, will continue to be, a creative force of all the best work to be done for India. I do not believe that, as has been said, the experiment upon which Government has embarked is a leap in the dark. I believe that the growth of Parliamentary and self-governing institution is an inevitable consequence and a result of British rule. Whether I consider the aspirations of India, or the interests of the British Empire, or the work which has been done by my fellow countrymen in India, I feel confident that the result of their labour in association with Indians, the only vision that they ought to desire to see achieved is a peaceful and prosperous India in which Indians will walk the highways of their own country conscious that they are to be the controllers of its destinies (Loud and long continued cheers).

Lord Carmichel briefly proposed the health of the Chairman in a humorous speech, and His Highness expressed his acknowledgments.

India in the Peace Conference.

Paris—11 April, '19.

At the Plenary Session of the Peace Conference held on the 11 April 1919, under the presidency of M. Clemenceau (French Premier) Mr Barnes on behalf of the International Labour convention placed a scheme for International Labour Organisation for insertion in the Peace Treaty. Delegates for the different countries were present including Lord Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikanir as the Indian representatives and also representatives of the British Dominions.

Mr. Barnes outlined the unhappy nature of the pre-war Labour conditions, and emphasised that the workers were determined never to return to those conditions. He urged that the highest wage-earning countries were not the best successful in the world-competition. For the first time in history they were now seeking the co-operation of all concerned, namely the State, employers and workers with a view to raising the standard of life everywhere in the world. The best means of doing this was not penalties against the weak and poor workers but publicity and agreement. The fundamental idea of the proposed organisation is to bring together in a public conference all the three concerned, so that the fullest information may be collected and distributed publicly for a betterment of past and existing conditions. The organisation would work in harmony with the League of Nations. The annual conference would be held at the seat of the League of Nations. The permanent office would be situated at this seat to collect and distribute informations. The conference would consist of 4 members from each State, 2 being the state representatives, 1 for the workers and 1 for the employers. As regards the Federal States certain reservations would be embodied to allow their representation, and provision for providing special modifications in the case of countries imperfectly developed. The first conference is to be held at Washington in 1919. He concluded by emphasising the importance of the Labour Organisation, as it would strengthen the League of Nations by enabling it to take root in the daily life of the People.

President Wilson warmly welcomed the proposal and said that that was a Labour Charter which he accepted on behalf of the American workers.



Sir S. P. Sinha in the course of his speech said that from the Industrial standpoint India was in an extremely backward condition, but they hoped in the next few years a great impetus would be given to indigenous industries. If these industries were to be developed on sound foundations they must look to the welfare of the workers. Already something had been done in India. The Factory Act of some years ago had already produced some good effect, but as regards India's climatic, social and other conditions, their own Factory commission recommended that progress must be slow. As representatives of India, they had watched the developments of this convention (the Labour Convention) with some misgiving, fearing that allowance would not be made for peculiar conditions of other countries. Happily now those misgivings have been banished by Mr. Barnes' amendment which has reference to countries having special labour conditions. Happily those labour conditions of his country were vastly different from those of the Western countries, and he gladly and wholeheartedly accepted the Labour Convention with that amendment.

The Maharaja of Bikanir also spoke. He warmly sympathised with the efforts of the Convention to ameliorate the conditions of Labour. He was glad that special provisions, which were very necessary, have been inserted with a view to meeting the condition of countries like India. He would however like to make one point clear. As the territories of the Ruling Princes lay outside British India, and as legislation enacted for British India by the British Government could not apply to Indian States, and as the only competent authority to legislate for an Indian state was the Government of the state concerned, it should be clearly understood that the authority within whose competence the matter lies for enactment of legislation would be the constitutive authority of the various Indian or other states concerned.

The Resolution.

Mr. Barnes introduced the resolution which was unanimously accepted, that the Peace Conference approved the proposed Scheme and the Governments concerned were requested to proceed forthwith with the nomination of their representatives on the Organising Committee for the October Conference, the Committee to begin work immediately.

India in America.

[*The following account of the work done in America for and by Indians during the early part of 1918 is taken from Mrs. Besant's Paper "New India."*]

An "Indian Home Rule League of America" has been started in New York U. S. A., with the following constitution.

"Whereas, The Indian Home Rule movement is being pushed on vigorously in India and England with the help and co-operation of eminent Englishmen and Englishwomen, and

"Whereas, a large number of the Hindus in this country deeply sympathise with the movement and are anxious to further it as much as lies in their power, and

"Whereas, the war utterances of President Wilson in favour of the rights of nationalities to determine their own forms of government have made it clear that the people of this country sympathise with the efforts of subject and small nationalities to achieve autonomy ; therefore it is desirable that an Indian Home Rule League be formed and established in this country to include all such Hindus and Americans as sympathise with the cause and are prepared to give their moral and national support to it."

The aims and objects to this League shall be :

1. (a) To support the Home Rule movement in India and co-operate with the Home Rule League, the All-India Moslem League and the Indian National Congress—organisations of India and England.

(b) To further all kinds of friendly intercourse—social, educational, cultural and commercial—between India and America.

2. The membership of this League is open to all who sympathise with its object.

3. The membership will be of three kinds.

(a) Active members who will pay dollars 10 (Rs. 30) a year.

(b) Associate members who will pay dollars 3 (Rs. 9) a year.

(c) Members who will pay dollar 1 (Rs. 3) a year.

4. The affairs of the League shall be managed by a council consisting of seven, five of whom will be elected annually by the associate-members.

5. The League shall maintain an office in the City of New York where regular accounts shall be kept of all receipts and disbursements of money in connection with the League.

The President of the League is Lala Lajpat Rai.

We hear from the United States that "American interest in India is increasing rapidly, and many factors are combining to effectuate this." One of these is the League for World Liberation, founded last October by native-born Americans, who were in sympathy not only with the Allies' plan of liberating all subject peoples, but also with what they call Mrs. Annie Besant's "greater plan of a free world, that would include religious and economic equality as well as political." In fact, Mrs. Besant was offered the post of International President, but has not, at present, accepted it, while feeling grateful for the honour, since her work is already too heavy, and the difficulties of communication between India and the rest of the world are so great. The broad ideals of the League, as regards World Liberation, are stated in a small book by Mr. Shibley, who has long been identified with constructive work in Washington, and it has been sent to the leading politicians in America. We hear that a statement about India has been included in the book, but the little volume has not yet reached us.

Our correspondent says :

The League's immediate object is to help in the democratising of India along the harmonious lines suggested by Mr. Montagu, and more particularly by means of the Congress League Reform Scheme. India is the largest Nation still held subject, the one most needing relief. The representatives of the people have amicably agreed upon their demands, and the granting of their aspirations would not dislocate India's war contribution, but on the contrary enhance it. Hence the League for World Liberation feels that the granting of India's self determination would not only redound to the advantage of the Allies, but it would also be the first great step towards the realisation of a world made safe for democracy, according to President Wilson's ideals. Therefore our League is working, by loyal and peaceful methods, to awaken American sympathy and support for India's liberation and elevation to the status of a Self Governing British Dominion.

Branches of the League have been established in the principal cities of America, through which our activities are being carried on. The most important eastern centre is at Washington, D. C., where Dr. Robins and Mr. Shibley are especially helpful and devoted.

President Wilson's reception of the data on India previously sent to him was very sympathetic, and, as our correspondent says, "his heart goes out to all oppressed peoples". Petitions bearing thousands of signatures in favour of President Wilson's ideals being applied to India are pouring into Washington, and are placed in his hands by our Washington representatives.

Another very valuable piece of work which is being done is the establishment of a Research Bureau. On this our correspondent tells us :

We have classified all data concerning India, including the valuable pamphlets which we brought with us, and your books on the subject. These are all cross indexed for quick reference. We have given widespread notification that we have this data for all who desire it. We are thus enabled to supply information whenever it is needed, which is often, and upon short notice. We now have the most complete and up-to-date library in America upon Indian matters. What we greatly need is that we shall receive at least two copies of all pamphlets printed in India on important topics, and especially Mrs. Besant's speeches.

Newspapers are constantly stopped though regularly subscribed for. Still our good friends manage to present India's case pretty fully :

This is an important part of our work, as reliable, recent, and unprejudiced information is difficult to obtain. A short time ago Mr. Blum of Kansas City met Sir Frederick Smith, England's Attorney General travelling in America, who asked for a statement of India's case. Mr. Blum wrote for this and asked us if we could prepare it quickly. We said Yes, and in a few days had the Ms. ready and it was forwarded to Sir Frederick. This is only one illustration of the work which we are doing. It is unobtrusive, but highly important.

Diplomatic Work : This is also effective. Our seeing the important leaders in Washington, important Senators, editors, statesmen, as well as Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Gompers, head of the American Labour Movement, has had definite results. We have kept in touch with these people, where advisable, and shall keep them informed of new developments regarding India. The consensus of American opinion is emphatically that India must participate in the world's advance towards democracy. Among Government circles, of course, the usual diplomatic courtesy between Nations forbids any public announcement of suggested interference or bringing pressure to bear upon England. Certainly, however, recent developments in the Far East will emphasise the need of granting India any concessions necessary to keep her as an Allied friend and a generous contributor to the war.

Press Work : We have continued our publicity campaign through the newspapers, and have sent statements of India's case to Canadian dailies as well. The tremendous publicity which our mission gained last October, brought India to the attention of the

INDIA IN AMERICA



American papers as never before, and the result is that their columns are now open to Indian items. Literally hundreds of articles appear each month in American papers, where only a few appeared before. This is permeating the mind of the people with Indian thought, and the result is magnificent. In this department we suffer from lack of funds to engage clerks and shorthand writers but we are doing the best we can.

A Bureau has also been started for the defence of Mrs. Besant against the slanders circulated against her by Lord Sydenham and the Indo-British Association.

Our friends are cooperating with Lala Lajpat Rai and the Indian Home Rule League founded by him :

They publish a small monthly magazine "young India," which will do a good work if they are tactful. We are members of the League and are helping it in every way possible. Its methods are peaceful and constitutional ; in fact, they are endeavouring to counteract the bad impression made by the revolutionists who have recently been on trial in San Francisco in connection with German intrigue. Mrs. Hotchner is President of the Los Angeles Chapter of the Indian H. R. League.

[N. B. Lajpat Rai's "Young India" is prohibited in India—
See on this pp. 18-25, *India in Parliament*].
